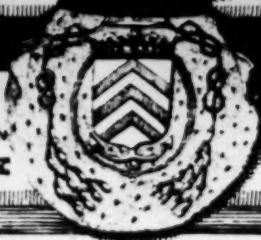




P. Bouche. Sculp.

THE TRUE
ARMAND JOHN
CARD: & DUKE

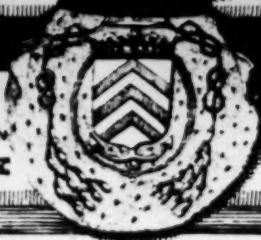


EFFIGIES of
du PLESSIS
of RICHELIEU.



P. Bouche. Sculp.

THE TRUE
ARMAND JOHN
CARD: & DUKE



EFFIGIES of
du PLESSIS
of RICHELIEU.

THE
L I F E
Of the Famous
Cardinal-Duke
De RICHLIEU,
Principal Minister of State
TO
LEWIS XIII. King of
France and Navarr.
[By Jean Le Clerc]

VOL. I.

L O N D O N,

Printed for M. Gillyflower, at the Black-Spread-Eagle in Westminster-Hall; W. Freeman, at the Bible against the Middle-Gate in Fleet-street; J. Walthoe, under the Cloisters in the Middle-Temple; and R. Parker, at the Unicorn under the Royal Exchange. 1695.

T O

ERASMUS SMITH,

*Of Weald-Hall in the County of
Essex, Esq;*

I Have made bold to prefix
Your NAME to *The Hi-*
story of the Famous Cardinal
de RICHLIEU, and hope the
Dignity of the Subject will, in
some manner, atone for all the
Failures of the Translation. That
Eminent Person, whose Principal
Actions it relates, was One of the
most Able Ministers which this Part
of the World has produc'd for
many Ages; and to his extraordi-
nary Conduct *France* is indebted
for the Formidable Grandeur it
now enjoys; which all the United
Forces of *Europe*, with so much
Pains and Expence, endeavour to
depress. He first put a stop to all

A 3

Her

Epistle Dedicatory.

Her intestine Broils, which made Her incapable of looking abroad, by cutting off all those Sources which used to feed the Rebellious Humours before: He first laid the Foundation of Her Greatness at Sea, revived the Discipline of Her Armies, and secured as well as enlarged Her Frontiers on the Continent. And as for those Rival Nations about Her, which were in a Situation to dispute the Sovereignty with Her, or to disturb Her Repose, He either humbled them by Force of Arms, or by his industrious Emissaries so imbarass'd their Affairs at home, that they were not in a Condition to annoy Her. 'Tis true indeed, the People were Gainers under his Ministry, whatever the Monarchy got by it, and that the Station he possess'd was not agreeable to one of the Ecclesiastick Character. It must likewise be acknowledg'd, that he help'd to dissolve the
the

Epistle Dedicatory.

the ancient Constitution of his Country, in the room of which he introduced an Unlimited Power; that he ruin'd the Authority of the Nobles, by obliging them to a precarious Dependance upon the Crown, and that he too often sacrificed to his Ambition and Revenge. However, such was his happy Fate or his Dexterity, that he weather'd all the Storms that so often threatned him; and though he had a jealous Master to manage, whose dark and distrustful Temper gave him no small difficulty, yet he died in the greatest Reputation with him, that ever Subject did with his Prince. What particularly deserves to be remarked in him, is that amidst a thousand other Cares and Distractions, he found leisure to encourage Learning, and to cultivate the *French* Language and Eloquence, with so much success, as to render them in a manner as Univer-

Epistle Dedicatory.

sal as he projected their Monarchy.

As for this History, in part Translated by me, it comprehends the most remarkable Occurrences of Christendom, during the whole time of the Cardinal's sitting at the Helm; in all which he had a considerable share; and as he was infinitely superiour to his contemporary Ministers, always managed to his Master's Advantage.

I know 'tis a just Reflection upon most Translators, That they affect to be as partial to their Authors, as Lovers are to their Mistresses; that they not only bestow abundance of good Qualities upon them, which the rest of the World are not able to discover, and often over-value what is really commendable in them, but either conceal their Defects, or else labour to set them off for so many Beauties, with Strains of false Rhetorick. However, I think I may safely affirm,

Epistle Dedicatory.

affirm, without the least prepossession in favour of our Historian, That his Language is Easie and Unaffected; his Narration is no where clogged with impertinent Digressions; nor swell'd into a tiresom Prolixity with nauseous Repetitions; nor does it languish under a tedious *detail* of idle Particulars. His Reflections all along are Solid, Just, and Instructive, and show him to be a Man of Honour and Sincerity, one that was well acquainted with the World, and passionately concerned for the ancient Liberties and Wellfare of *France*. For which Reason we find him frequently reproaching the Cardinal, with ruining the Power of Parliaments; which in all our neighbouring Kingdoms that were founded by the Northern People upon the Ruines of the *Roman* Empire, had, according to the different Genius of the Climate, a greater or
lesser

Epistle Dedicatory.

lesser Share in the publick Administration; and yet, on the other Hand, he is not backward to acknowledge his Services, when they apparently tended to the Interest of his Country. Except where he touches upon our *English* Affairs, and unjustly represents King *Charles* the First as inclin'd to Popery, he is Impartial in every thing he says: But we may easily forgive this single Slip in a Foreigner, who might be misled as to that Particular, by some late Memoirs of our own Writers, who have treated the Memory of that unhappy Monarch with equal Insolence and Malice. He never expresses his Resentments at the expence of Truth; but as he describes the Vices of our Minister with great freedom, so he makes no difficulty to celebrate his Vertues.

Thus, Sir, I have presumed to lay before You the Design and Character of this Performance; and tho' the

Epistle Dedicatory.

the World will justly tax me for dwelling so long upon this Article; yet of Two Evils, I rather chose to trespass upon Your Patience, than to offend Your Modesty, by pretending, after the received custom of Dedications, to attempt Your Panegyrick: Unless that Consideration kept me back, here is a Temptation that is not easily overcome. Your Extraction from the Illustrious and ancient Family of the *Heriz*, a Name sufficiently known in our *English* Baronage; Your obliging Deportment and Generosity; Your early Acquaintance with the *Belles Lettres*; and, to crown all, so just a Knowledge of Mankind in so much Youth; by which you have already given the World an earnest of what Your Country and Your Friends may justly expect from Your maturer Years, are such fruitful Topicks, that 'tis almost as difficult to abstain from a pursuit
of

Epistle Dedicatory.

of them, as 'tis to find them so happily joyned in any single Person. But I am conscious to my self that I have sufficiently incurr'd Your Displeasure, by drawing You out of Your beloved Retirement with this Publick Address; and therefore shall take care not to inflame the Reckoning, by engaging in a Province, which after all, I am unfit to manage. All I pretend to, is to divert Your vacant Hours, when Your Friends and Affairs of greater Importance will permit You to take up with so sorry an Entertainment; and to declare to the World with what Zeal and Sincerity I am,

S I R,

Your most Humble,

and most Devoted Servant,

T. BROWN.

THE
AUTHOR'S
PREFACE.

THE Generality of those Writers, whom I have hitherto seen, that have attempted the History of Cardinal *Richlieu*, only seem to have propos'd one of these Two Ends to themselves; either they took Pen in Hand to render him odious, and blacken his Memory, or else writ with a design to make his Panegyric. Very few of them have observ'd the just Decorum, where the Evil and the Good is impartially related, without endeavouring to exaggerate, or extenuate one more than the other. I shall not here give my self the trouble to criticize upon the Panegyrists of this Prelate, nor to examine those Persons that have written Satyrs against him. Those that question my Sincerity, and doubt the truth of what I relate, may, for their greater Satisfaction, if they please, consult the Authors out
of

The Author's Preface.

of whom I have borrow'd my Memoirs. However 'tis necessary I should acquaint the Reader, before I proceed any farther, what Design I propos'd to my self in writing this History, and what Laws I intended religiously to observe in the whole course of it.

As I was easily convinced that the better part of my Memoirs were only to be deduced from Sources, which generally speaking, were poison'd, or from the most abject Strains of Flattery, I thought my self obliged to take great care to distinguish Matters of Fact, barely consider'd in themselves, from the manner in which they were related. And this I endeavour'd to do, by comparing several Historians together, to see in what Particulars they agree; which I look upon to be the Truth of History, at least as far as we are able at any distance to discover it. These Facts being once established, we may then proceed to judge of abundance of other particular things, without running any great danger of losing the Truth out of sight. There are some Actions which may be indifferent in themselves, or come from a Principle worthy of Commendation, if the Authors of them were animated by a Spirit of Justice and Equity; which on the other Hand are bad, when the Motive that produc'd them is of that nature. Upon this score I believ'd it necessary to form to
my

The Author's Preface:

my self a true Idea of the Cardinal's Genius, by a strict Examination of his principal Actions, and his constant Conduct, in which both those that blame and those that praise him equally concur. Upon the strength of this Idea I have judg'd of the Motives which seem to have influenced him on several occasions, where, without that help it would be a difficult matter to come to any positive determination. And this is the way follow'd by all the World, when they give themselves the trouble to find out the true Reasons of Actions, which, as has been already observed, may be either Good or Evil, according to the Principle from whence they come: Nor is this Conduct by any means to be censured, if Passion and Prejudice do not mingle with it. Thus, for instance, a Man who is universally known both by his Discourses as well as his Actions, to be vindictive in his Temper, if he happens to crush another that has injur'd him, ought not to complain if People say that he did it out of a Spirit of Revenge. The predominant Passion, (and Persons of great Souls are seldom without one) especially when it appears too strong for the rest; although a Man takes never so much care to conceal it, yet it tinctures the whole Scene of his Life; and when this is once discover'd by evident Indications, the World is seldom deceiv'd

The Author's Preface.

ceiv'd when they pass a Judgment upon his Actions.

This is the Rule which I have follow'd in the whole Series of this History, where I have given every thing that turn, which the constant and perpetual Character of the Cardinal requir'd; though at the same time I have not prevaricated in any Events whatever, nor disguis'd the Truth upon any occasion. The Reader will soon find out what was the true Character of our Prelate, by reading his Life, but he may read the Abridgement of it at the end of this Work.

I have made use of several Historians who flourish'd at the same time, whom I have generally cited all along in the Margin, when I borrow'd any particular Passages from them, which are not to be met with in other Authors. But the Two principal Writers, out of whom I have extracted this History, are *Lewis Aubery*, who has writ the Cardinal's Life in *French*, and *Vittorio Siri*, who has made an Abridgement of it in *Italian*, in the Third Book of the Second Tome of his *Mercurio*, and who likewise has handled it more at large in his *Memorie Recondite*, where he recounts all the remarkable Occurrences that fell out yearly, so long as the Cardinal continu'd in the Ministry.

The

The Author's Preface.

The first is an insupportable fulsome Flatterer, who would fain sham the Cardinal upon the World for a Holy Pious Man, that possess'd all the Episcopal Virtues in as eminent a Degree, as he did the several Talents of a Minister of State. He generally dissembles every thing that may in the least wound the Reputation of this Minister; and, on the other Hand, amplifies and exaggerates every Occasion that may tend to his Honour; or, to express my self more properly, he is his Advocate, and pleads the cause of Cardinal Richlieu, to persuade his Judges, that is to say, his Posterity, That he was a Bishop of an unblameable Life, and a Minister without fault. Every thing the Cardinal says or does, could neither be better said or done, if you will believe *Aubery*. He was a Man without Passion, and without Vices, who always acted upon Principles wholly divested of Interest, which only tended to the publick advantage of the State, and the Glory of the King.

The Abbot *Siri*, on the other hand, very freely describes both his Vertues and Vices; he does not diminish from the Lustre of his good Actions; neither does he set a Veil before his bad ones. But as he only propos'd to make a Collection of Memoirs, he is far from being

a uniform

The Author's Preface.

uniform, for he enlarges more or less upon the several things he recounts, according as his Collections were of a greater or smaller bulk. To this we may add, that he slightly passes over many remarkable Actions, because others had given printed Relations of them before him, and he chiefly busies himself to lay open those Negotiations which had never appear'd in publick. He had read the Dispatches of several Nuncio's who resided in the Court of *France*, and of several Residents from the Princes of *Italy* in the same Court, which he cites every Moment, as well as the Letters of several Ambassadors from that Crown to the Princes of *Italy*, which never saw the Light. Thus we find in this Author abundance of particular Matters of Fact, which are not to be met with elsewhere. He likewise gives us several Negotiations of the Cardinal with the Ministers of the Pope, and other Princes of *Italy*, which discover the true Genius of this Minister infinitely better than a simple Narration, which other Historians have made of them. 'Tis indeed certain, that *Siri* is not methodical enough; but as his Design was to collect Memoirs, not only for the History of *France*, but also for that of all *Europe* besides, it was not easie for him wholly to avoid Confusion, and frequent Repetitions in so vast a Collection. We have likewise a just occasion to complain of him, for

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for altering and disguising the greatest part of the Proper Names of Cities and Men, except only those of *Italy*, a * defect which the best Authors of his Country, may be justly charged with, who write those Names just as they pronounce them, that is, extremely ill.

* If our Historian quarrels with the Italian Authors for altering

the proper Names of Men and Places, I am sure we have as much, if not more, reason to tax the *French* with the same Fault, as any one may be satisfied that will read *Moreri*, *Raguenet's* Life of *Cromwell*; or, in short, any of their Geographers and Historians that pretend to relate our Affairs.

However, to do Justice to *Siri*, and not to be ungrateful to an Author to whom I have been so exceedingly indebted, 'tis certain, that as he was Master of many great Qualifications, so he was furnish'd with mighty Helps to write his History; and I must ingenuously own, that I have drawn more Matters of Fact from him, than from any other Historian whom I have consulted. I have scarce consulted any of the Protestant Authors upon these Matters; because, as very few of that Party have writ concerning them, so it was not worth the while to read them all. They may reasonably enough be suspected to be prepossess'd against the Cardinal, who ruin'd their Affairs in *France*. Therefore the Reader may observe that for the greatest part I cite none but Catholick Authors, though I do not joyn with them in the great Elogi-

The Author's Preface.

ums they bestow upon the Cardinal for having destroy'd the Rights and Privileges of the *Hugonots*. As I never design'd to engage my self in a controversial War, but only to recount Matters of State, I have wholly confin'd my self to the pure Idea's of Policy, or, at least, to those Sentiments that are common to both Religions.

By the Word *Policy* (to deliver my meaning once for all) I do not understand the Art of advancing ones own Affairs, or aggrandizing ones Prince, by any means whatever, whether agreeable to Equity or not ; but the Art of rendring the Prince and People equally happy under a certain form of Government, by those steady Methods which Prudence and Justice prescribe to all Mankind. This is the just and true Idea which those great Men that first writ of *Politicks* have given us of this Science, which made up one part of their *Morality*, and which they had formed upon those Lights and Notices which all the Nations in the World possess in common. In these latter Ages indeed some Authors have defin'd it to be an Art to satisfy the Ambition, Revenge, and Avarice of Sovereign Princes, without having any regard to Justice, or the good of the People. As by introducing this new mysterious Science they have endeavour'd to procure the Favour of those Persons who
make

The Author's Preface.

make use of it, and to have some share in those Advantages which they derive from it; so they have suited and accommodated all their Histories to these Maxims, only designing their own proper Advancement, by fitting themselves to the Gusto and Relish of those from whom they expect a Reward. As for my self, who had never any such design in my Thoughts, I have all along follow'd the Idea's of the ancient *Policy*, without having any manner of recompence or advantage in my Eye. I have fairly deliver'd the Truth as far as I knew it, and have not impos'd my own Inventions upon the World, as the Reader may easily satisfy himself, if he pleases to examine my Citations, and compare this History with others that have handled the same Argument before me. I have disguised nothing out of Passion, or to please any Faction or Party. I have extenuated nothing, or amplified contrary to the receiv'd Rules of History. In short, I do not find my self in the least guilty of any breach relating to that Sincerity and impartial Temper, which those that have laid down the everlasting Precepts of this Art, require in an Historian, when he sets himself to write.

All that can with any pretence be censured in my Conduct is, that I have not enlarged upon abundance of things which

The Author's Preface.

might have been related in a larger Compass, without being tiresome to the Reader, and that I have not set down every thing that might have been said in so fertile and copious a Subject, as the Life of this Cardinal really is. But to this I answer, That to satisfy Gentlemen of such a relish, instead of Two Volumes of the bigness of these which I have published, a Man ought at least to have composed Ten or Twelve. Out of a great multitude of Occurrences which might naturally enough enter into the Life of the Cardinal, I have selected and chosen only those that more particularly concern the Cardinal's Person: These have I related more at large; others, which seem'd absolutely necessary, I referr'd to the end of this Narration. To conclude all in a Word, to have taken in all the particulars that relate to his Life, one must have made a compleat History of *France* from the Year 1624, to the Year 1642; during which time the Cardinal govern'd that Kingdom much more than the Prince whose Minister he was. But the limits of a Life do not extend so far as those of a general History; and though both one and the other be read with Pleasure, yet I was resolved that this Work should fully answer the Title which I had given it.

The Author's Preface.

I thought it convenient at the end of this Preface to set down the *Treaty of Madrid*, concerning the Affairs of the *Valteline* : For though I have mention'd it more than once, yet I omitted to relate the particulars of it, because the Cardinal was not received into the Ministry at the time when it was concluded. Nevertheless, 'tis necessary for the better understanding several Passages of his Life.

T H E

TREATY of MADRID,

*Drawn out of the Embassie of the Ma-
reschal de Bassompierre in Spain.*

TOWARDS the end of *February*, in the Year 1621, *Francis de Bassompierre*, Knight of the Holy Ghost, one of his Majesty's Privy-Counsellors, and Colonel-General of the *Swisses*, having been sent from the part of the King into *Spain*, in the Quality of his Ambassador Extraordinary, to treat with the Catholick King concerning the restitution of the *Valtelline* to its former Condition, by reason of the Interests which oblig'd his most Christian Majesty to preserve the *Grisons* in the possession of their Country, he found his Catholick Majesty dangerously sick; so that he cou'd not execute his Commission *vivâ voce*. Having given his Letters of Credence, and set down in writing the principal Heads of his Commission, the unexpected Death of his Catholick Majesty was the reason why that Prince cou'd not put in execution the good Intentions he had to restore the *Valtelline*, according to the Demand

The Treaty of Madrid.

mand of the most Christian King; and that the rather because his Holiness at the same time, by a particular Brief, made very urgent Instances to have it perform'd: But his Catholick Majesty dying, left the following Article, among the other Clauses, annex'd to his Will.

Forasmuch as on the 27th. of March of this present Year, I received a Letter from the hand of his Holiness Gregory XV. wherein he exhorts me, That in consideration of himself, and out of a due regard to the Publick Welfare, I should think of accommodating the Affair of the Valteline: And to remove all occasion of Scandal which might thereupon happen, I order the most Serene Prince, and my most Dear Son, to follow herein the Paternal Advice of his Holiness, in the Form above-mention'd, since my chief Intention was only to act in behalf of the Publick Good, and for the Security of the Catholicks of that Valley, the care of which belongs to his Holiness, as Universal Father of the Church. My Pleasure is, That this Writing may be look'd upon to be a special Clause of my Will, as if it had been actually comprehended in that Article, wherein I command that all the Papers that appear to be Signed in my Name, be judged and esteemed to be parts of my Will. Made at our Royal Palace at Madrid, the 30th. of March, 1621.

Don

The Treaty of Madrid.

Don *Philip* IV. immediately after his coming to the Crown, resolv'd fully to accomplish that which the King, his Lord and Father, order'd him to see perform'd, that which his Holiness desir'd for the common Tranquility, as likewise his most Christian Majesty demanded of him, conformable to what he was oblig'd by his Royal Word, given to the Lords of the three Leagues. Thus his Catholick Majesty deputed with ample Power, as Commissioners, *Jerome Caymo*, President of his Supreme Council of *Italy*, and *Juan de Cerica*, Knight of the Order of *St. James*, the *Commandeur de Riviere*, Councillor and Secretary of State, to treat about this Affair with the Counts *de Bassompierre* and *Rochepot*, Ambassadors Extraordinary and Ordinary from his most Christian Majesty in that Court, who, in the Name of their respective Masters, agreed upon the following

A R T I C L E S.

I.

“**T**HAT all Things shall be restored to
“ their first Condition, as well on one
“ side as the other, each drawing out their
“ Forces

The Treaty of Madrid.

“ Forces and Garrisons lately establish'd ;
“ and consequently that his Catholick Ma-
“ jesty shall send away all the Troops
“ which he had upon the Confines of the
“ State of *Milan*, adjoining to the *Valteline*,
“ and the Valley of *Chiavenne* ; so that no
“ more Troops may be there, but those that
“ were on foot before the last Commotions ;
“ and that, on the other side, the *Grisons* shall
“ do the same in the *Valteline*, and in the
“ Counties of *Chiavenne* and *Bormio*.

II.

“ That the Lords of the Leagues shall
“ grant a general Pardon and Indemnity for
“ all that has been committed in these
“ late Disorders ; so that their Subjects of
“ the *Valteline*, and of the Counties of
“ *Chiavenne* and *Bormio*, may never be di-
“ sturbed or molested in their Persons, or
“ in their Goods, for any thing that has
“ been done upon this occasion.

III.

“ That as for what concerns Religion
“ in the *Valteline*, and the Counties of
“ *Chiavenne* and *Bormio*, all Innovations
“ shall be removed and taken away, that
“ shall

The Treaty of Madrid.

“ shall be found prejudicial to the Catho-
“ lick Religion, which have been introdu-
“ ced since the beginning of 1617. to the
“ present Year.

IV.

“ That the *Grisons* shall take the Oaths
“ and requisite Promises according to the
“ usual Custom, for the better observation
“ of what has been agreed hereupon; and
“ shall make these Oaths and Promises be-
“ fore the three Persons declar'd in the fol-
“ lowing Article; and that the most Chri-
“ stian King shall promise to see the same
“ observed; as also the Thirteen Cantons,
“ and the Inhabitants of the Valley, or
“ the greatest part of them.

V.

“ That the Catholick King shall imme-
“ diately write to the Archduke *Albert* his
“ Unkle, to send the President of the Par-
“ liament of the County of *Burgundy*, or
“ some other Person of the said County to
“ *Lucern*, to repair thither with all pos-
“ sible haste; but to be at farthest there,
“ on the last Day of *May* next ensuing;
“ in which place he shall join with the
“ *Nuncio*

The Treaty of Madrid.

“ *Nuncio* of his Holiness, and the Ambaf-
“ fador of his most Christian Majesty, to
“ accommodate and to put every thing at
“ present concerted in execution: Intending
“ and declaring besides this, that the an-
“ cient Treaties made with the House of
“ *Austria*, and in particular for the County
“ of *Tirol*, shall still continue in force, and
“ be observed.

VI.

“ That the Person whom the Archduke
“ shall send from the County of *Burgundy*,
“ shall carry with him a Letter, dated before
“ by his Highness, for the Duke of *Feria*, to
“ give him information that the whole Af-
“ fair is entirely adjusted; and that he forth-
“ with execute the Orders which he shall re-
“ ceive from his Catholick Majesty to restore
“ and leave all things in the same Condition
“ they were formerly: Which Letter he
“ shall immediately dispatch to the Duke of
“ *Feria*, after the execution of the Things
“ mention'd in the Fourth Article above:
“ And that for this end his Catholick Maje-
“ sty shall send to the aforesaid Duke of *Fe-*
“ *ria* a positive and express Command to see
“ all Things put in their ancient posture, so
“ soon as he shall receive this Command.

VII. “ That

The Treaty of Madrid.

VII.

“ That this Treaty shall be ratified by the
“ most Christian King ; and that the Ratifi-
“ cation shall be delivered at *Paris* to the
“ Marquis de *Mirabel*, Councillor of War to
“ his Catholick Majesty, and his Ambassador
“ in ordinary residing in the Court of *France*,
“ immediately after the Count de *Bassom-*
“ *pierre* shall arrive thither.

VIII.

“ That there shall be two Copies of this
“ Treaty ; one in the *French* Tongue, and
“ the other in the *Castilian*, both signed by
“ the *French* and *Spanish* Commissioners, to
“ be delivered into the hands of each of the
“ Parties ; the *French* to Don *John de Cerica*,
“ and the *Spanish* to *Bassompierre*. Concluded
at Madrid, the 25th. of April, 1621. Signed

Bassompierre.

d'Angennes.

Caymo, President.

Juan de Cerica.



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T H E
H I S T O R Y
Of the Famous
Cardinal *de RICHLIEU*.

V O L. I. B O O K I.

Containing the most remarkable Passages of his Life, from his Birth to the Year 1624. when he was the second time made a Counsellor of State.

IF ever there was a Publick Minister who in his time furnished Matter for the most envenomed Satyrs, and yet from other Hands received the most extravagant Praises, 'tis assuredly *Armand John Du Plessis, Cardinal of Richlieu*, whose History I now attempt to write. He is on one side accused of Ambition, of Cruelty, of Perfidiousness, and, in short, of all the Crimes by which Ambitious Statesmen use to support their Authority. 'Tis said, that he either entirely ruin'd *France* himself, or put the Ministers that succeeded him in a condition to effect it. Others, on the contrary, look upon him to have been a skilful Pilot, whom
B the

the happy Genius of his Country bestowed upon the State, when it was dangerously tossed with violent Tempests, and to whom it was indebted for the Tranquillity it afterwards enjoy'd. These People maintain, that he alone first made it appear how formidable the Forces of France were, if they were managed to the best advantage, and that he laid the most solid Foundations of its Greatness. After all, perhaps these Judgments, so opposite in appearance, are not so difficult to be reconciled, as one would imagine at first sight : Nay, I dare venture to affirm, that the Reader will find this Paradox so fully made out in the Series of this History, that what here seems a Contradiction, will become as evident as the plainest Truth whatever.

His Father was *Francis du Plessis*, the fourth of that Name, Lord of *Richlieu*, *Besai*, *Chillou*, and *Vervoliere*, descended from an ancient Family in *Poisson* ; and his Mother's Name was *Frances de la Porte*. *Francis du Plessis* follow'd the Duke of *Anjou* into *Poland*, and came back with him from thence. He was made Great Provost of France in the Year 1575, and Eleven Years after, Knight of the Holy Ghost. He was also much esteem'd by *Henry IV.* who in 1590. made him Captain of his Guards ; but he never lived to take Possession of that Post, dying soon after. He left Three Sons and Two Daughters behind him. The eldest, named *Henry*, was in a fair way to raise his Fortune by the Sword, when he had the ill Fate to be killed in a Duel by the Marquiss de *Themines*, to whom the Queen-Mother had denyed the Government of *Angers*, for which *Richlieu*, it seems, was his Competitor. The second, whose Name was *Alphonse*, took upon him the Ecclesiastick Profession, and was immediately made Bishop of *Luçon*. *Armand John*, the third Brother, was design'd for a Military Life ; but he too struck in with the Church, for Reasons which shall be mentioned hereafter, *Frances*, the eldest of his Sisters, was first married to *John de Beauvau*, Lord of *Pimpean*, and afterwards to *Rene de Wignacot*, Lord of *Pont de Courlai* ; *Nicole*, the youngest, was married to *Urban de Miillé*, Marquiss de *Brezé*, Captain of the Guards to the Queen-Mother, afterwards to the King, and last of all Marechal of France,

Armand

Armand John du Pleſſis was born at *Paris*, in the Year 1585, on the fifth of *September*. His Father dying Five Years after, he was educated under the Care of his Mother. The Prior of *St. Florent* instructed him in the first Rudiments of Learning: He was afterwards sent to the Colledge of *Navar*; from whence he quickly removed to that of *Lisieux*, where he went through a Course of Philosophy. From this last place he pass'd to the Academy, to learn to ride the Great Horse, and perform the other Exercises proper for a young Gentleman who was design'd for the War. At this time he wore a Sword, and assum'd the Title of *Lord de Chillou*; but soon alter'd his Design. His Brother *Alphonſus du Pleſſis*, who had been nominated to the Bishoprick of *Luçon*, quitted it, and shut himself up in a Cloyster of *Carthusians*: But his Relations thinking it was their Interest to preserve that Bishoprick in the Family, procured the King's Mandamus in favour of *Armand John*, who upon this changed his Secular Habit for a Cassock, and began to study Divinity. His Family, which had no extraordinary Estate belonging to it, look'd upon this Bishoprick as an advantageous Support. After he had spent some time in his Studies, he maintain'd his Theses in the Episcopal Habit, as being already a Bishop Elect, and received his Doctor of Divinity's Cap with the general Applause of those that heard him: But he did not sit down satisfi'd with these Formalities, which rather discover vivacity of Wit than any true Knowledge; for he resolv'd heartily to apply himself to all the Studies necessary for a Bishop. To accomplish this, he retired to a Country House near *Paris*, with a Doctor of *Lovain*, who was to direct him in his Studies, where he spent Two entire Years, and employ'd Eight Hours a Day in reading. He particularly apply'd himself to *Polemic Divinity*; by which he saw *Cardinal du Perron* had acquir'd a mighty Reputation, and so hop'd to advance his own Fortunes by the same way. However, by what one may judge of his Abilities in this kind, by a Treatise which goes under his Name, he was none of the fittest Persons to manage Controversial Points; and he was but slenderly acquainted with his own Talent, if he ever

1606. expected to raise his Fortune this way. So some of his best Friends dissuaded him from pursuing these Studies; by which, as it was not likely for him to raise his Credit, so they extremely prejudic'd his Health. In the mean time he sent to the Pope to grant him a Dispensation for his Age; and the King recommended this Affair to Cardinal Perron, who was then at Rome, and to D'Alencourt his Ambassador.

* *Siri Mercurio*, T. 2. Lib. 3. p. 1486.

1607.

The Bishop of Luçon found it was his best way at last to go and sollicite this Affair for himself; and being arriv'd at Rome, had Audience of Pope Paul V. who, as 'tis said, was strangely pleas'd with his Conversation, and complied with his Desires in dispensing with his Age. * Nevertheless the Report runs, That he assur'd the Pope he was older than really he was; and that after his Consecration he desired him to give him Absolution for this Lye. He was consecrated by Cardinal de Givry on the 17th of April, 1607. Nay, 'tis confidently pretended, that the Pope own'd him to be a Man of Wit for the Trick he play'd him, and that he commended his Dexterity,

At his return to Paris, finding he could not immediately introduce himself into Court, as his Friends had advis'd him, he betook himself to Preaching, in order to make himself better known. He preach'd Two *Lents* successively, with so great a Concourse and Applause, that this Reputation gain'd him the Favour of the Queen-Mother. Having by this means got some sort of an Entrance into Court, he particularly apply'd himself to Concino Concini, afterwards the Marechal d'Ancre, who govern'd the State during the Queen's Regence.

1610.

After the Death of Henry IV. the Court was under a strange Disorder, by the Intrigues of those Persons who either were desirous to have their Share in the Government, or such as would continue in the Posts they already enjoy'd, and were minded to push their Fortune farther. Several Noble Persons who had been excluded from bearing any part in the Publick Affairs, under the Ministers of Henry IV. now endeavour'd to get in, and employ'd all manner of Artifices to accomplish their Designs. The Duke of Sully, Superintendant of the Finances, and Grand

Book I. Cardinal de Richlieu.

5

Grand Master of the Artillery, in whom *Henry* reposed a mighty Confidence upon the account of his great Qualities, was envy'd by a world of People. Chancellor *Sillery*, *Villeroy* Secretary of State, and *Jeannin* the President, combin'd against him to establish their own Authority : Besides these, the Count de *Soissons*, for some private Grudge, *Concino*, because he eclips'd his growing Fortunes, the Prince of *Conde*, not only instigated by others, but because the Duke of *Sully* had advis'd *Henry IV.* to apprehend him before he could make his Escape into *Flanders*, and the Marechal de *Bouillon*, who envy'd him for the great Interest he had among the *Huguenots*, caball'd against him. All these Persons earnestly labour'd to ruin his Reputation with the Queen, for his morose parsimonious Temper ; in which last particular he was directly opposite to that Princess, who loved to be liberal even to Profuseness. And she on the other hand being desirous to secure her own Authority, on which Consideration the Pope's Favour was absolutely necessary to her, found she must never expect to gain it, so long as she intrusted a *Huguenot* with the Administration of Affairs. For this Reason she turn'd him out of all his Places, and oblig'd him to leave the Court.

At this time the Marechal d'*Ancre* having sole Possession of the Queen's Favour, and fearing least the *Grandeess* should unite to ruin him, endeavour'd to raise and foment Divisions between them. He dexterously manag'd the hatred which different Parties had one for another, and as far as in him lay balanc'd their Power, out of a consideration, that if one of these Factions destroy'd the other, it would be his own Fate to fall under the same weight. This Project succeeded so well with him, that the Princes of the Blood, and those of the House of *Lorraine*, besides their publick Broils, had several other private ones which help'd to keep them at a distance. As none of them were any longer concern'd for the Publick Good, nor the Glory of *France*, and the Royal Dignity was despis'd under the King's Minority, they all agreed in nothing else but pursuing their own private Interests. Things were in this Condition, when the Queen, to strengthen her Regence, and secure her self of a Peace, concluded a Marriage between her Son

1611. *Lewis XIII.* and the Infanta of *Spain*, and between one of his Sisters and the Catholick King.

1612. These Marriages gave the Grandees an Opportunity to set all in Confusion, under pretence that it was against the true Interest of the Kingdom. The Countess of *Soissons*, and the Dutchess of *Nevers*, could not without extreme regret behold how much the Princesses of *Conty* and *Guise* were in the Queen's Favour, and therefore engag'd their Lovers and Relations to embrace the Party which oppos'd the Regence. Thus a Faction was form'd, of which the Prince of *Conde* declar'd himself Chief, because the Queen had refus'd him the Government of the Castle of *Trompette*. The *Mareschal de Bouillon* was the Man that caball'd the most, and yet was the least suspected by the Regent. He cunningly wrought upon the Prince of *Conde*, the Duke of *Longueville* and several others to leave the Court, but was himself the last that quitted it; and then he did it with the Queen's Consent. Immediately the whole Party broke out, *Britany* under the Duke of *Vendome*, *Picardy* under the Duke of *Longueville*, the *Ile of France* and the Cities of *Soissons* and *Noyon* under the Duke of *Mayenne*, *Laon* under the Marquiss of *Cœuvres*; and several other Cities and Provinces openly declar'd against the Regence; and this Faction was in a condition to act before the Queen knew that it was form'd against her.

1613. Thus the Malecontents meeting from all Parts, found themselves ready arm'd, before there were any Troops to oppose them; and their Design seem'd to be so much the more plausible, because they spoke of nothing but the Publick Good, and only pretended to put a few *Italians*, who had intruded into the Administration of Affairs, out of a capacity of ruining the Kingdom. At this Juncture the Prince of *Conde* writ a Letter to the Queen, wherein he pray'd her to assemble the States of the Kingdom, to obviate the growing Disorders; and that Princess being not able to bring together more than Ten thousand Foot and Three thousand Horse; and fearing least the Party of Malecontents should daily encrease, thought it the surest way to accomodate Matters with them as soon as she might. For this

this end, she impower'd the Duke of *Guise* to enter into a Treaty with them in her Name, and to settle all Differences as he should see convenient: It was agreed, That *Amboise* should be given to the Prince, *St. Menebour* to the Duke of *Nevers*, and a good Summ of Money to the *Mareschal de Bouillon*: So that the Principal Heads finding themselves satisfied as to their own particular, talk'd no more of the Publick Good.

The King being out of his Minority, it was now thought expedient to convene the Estates of the Kingdom, to gain him the Affection of his Subjects, and prevent all manner of Troubles. The Prince of *Condé* us'd all his Interest to get such Deputies elected, as had a dependance upon him: However, the fear of being ill us'd at Court, and the hopes of a Recompence, which are as it were the Two Poles upon which all Human Actions turn, retain'd the greatest part of them in their Duty; so that the Prince was oblig'd to give up *Amboise*, notwithstanding all the Cabals he maintain'd to hinder it. The Bishop of *Luçon*, who thought of nothing more than how to get himself in some Office, was one of the Representatives of the Clergy, and had a Commission to present a Paper to the King, at the breaking up of the Estates. At the delivery of it, he made a Speech of an hour and half long, which was hearken'd to with a great deal of Attention, and was afterwards printed. There are two things in this Harangue, which it was observ'd he mention'd rather for his own Advantage, than for the Good of the Kingdom: One was, That he desir'd the King to leave the Administration of Affairs to the Queen his Mother, hoping perhaps to get some share in them by her Favour. The other was a severe Complaint he made, That there were no Church-men in the King's Council; as if the State could not be manag'd without their Concurrence and Advice. 'Tis true indeed, the Bishop of *Luçon* demanded nothing that was new in this, and that Ecclesiasticks have been frequently concern'd in the Government; but, at the bottom, 'tis not of absolute necessity they should be there; and 'tis as plain a case, That a Man cannot at the same time discharge the Office of a good Bishop, and that of a Minister of State: Either of these Functions will take up a Man's whole Time; and in

1614. truth 'tis impossible to divide ones self honestly between so many Cares. But our Bishop was of the Opinion, no doubt on't, That a Prelate who is employ'd by the Government, might leave the Care of his Flock to a Vicar, that so himself might be more at leisure to attend the Affairs of the State. After all, the Question is, Whether the Gospel allows it; and whether those that look after the Bishoprick, ought not in equity to have the Name and the Revenues of that Employment which they manage for another? But 'tis a long while ago since it has been out of fashion to consult the Gospel, upon these Cases especially.

Although the Grandees had no farther occasion now to complain, yet finding no means to satisfy their restless Ambition in times of Tranquillity, they sought an Opportunity to raise new Commotions. The Marechal de Bouillon once more made use of that Ascendant which he had over the Prince of Condé, to engage him in fresh Designs. Those Persons also that were not satisfied with what had pass'd in the Assembly of the Estates, complain'd in all Companies, That they had taken Measures directly contrary to the Welfare of the Kingdom: That it was not reasonable that the Marechal d'Ancre should be permitted to do what he pleas'd; and, That several of the Deputies had just Reasons to complain.

1615.

The Parliament of Paris, which had frequently interested themselves in the Government of the State, publish'd an Arrest, by which they invited the Grandees, and all that were well-affected to their own Country, to join with them to redress the Abuses and Grievances that daily encreas'd: But the King, or rather the Council, put forth a Declaration, by which they annull'd this Arrest of Parliament; and prohibited all Persons, under severe Penalties, to concern themselves with these Affairs. The Parliament nettled at this haughty Procedure, to which at that time they were not so well accusom'd as since, dispatch'd a Remonstrance to the King, wherein they treated him with a great deal of freedom; and advis'd him, among other things, not to make use of * *Absolute Commands*, in the First Year of his Majority. At the same time the Prince of Condé dispers'd some Manifestos in the form of Letters; wherein he gave the People to under-

* See Mer.
T. II. P. 2.
p. 489

understand, That those that complain'd of the present Government, had no other design than only to deprefs the too great Power of the *Mareschal d'Ancre*; to remove Grievances; to hinder the Marriages the Queen had concluded with *Spain*; and to restore the King and the Crown to their ancient Splendour. He likewise got together a great Body of *French* and *Germans*, and provided them with Artillery from *Sedan*, to be in a condition to oppose the King's Army, which only consisted of Ten thousand Foot, and Fifteen hundred Horse. The Duke of *Guise* appear'd at the Head of this last Army, and was to conduct the Queen of *Spain* to the Frontiers, and from thence to conduct the Queen of *France* to *Paris*.

As he advanced towards *Guienne* with this Design, and the Two Armies were ready to come to a decisive Battel, the Duke of *Mayenne*, and the *M. de Bouillon*, who had the greatest Obligations to stick by the Prince of *Condé*, were gain'd over to the other Party, by some hopes that were given them of a Peace, where their own particular Interests should be so advantagiously consider'd, that they should have no more occasion to complain. For this end, an Assembly was convened at *Loudun*, where those that were sent by the Court, forgot nothing that might set the Malecontents at variance. The Prince, who was weary of the War before he had well begun it, abandon'd the Publick Interests, for which he pretended to have taken up Arms, and only took care of some particular Persons, and especially those of his own Family. He had promis'd to come to no Conclusion, till he saw the Duke of *Vendôme* reinstated in the Castle of *Nantes*, the Duke of *Longueville* in the Citadel of *Amiens*; and till the *Hugonots* had a Promise, That the Edicts made in their Favour should be observ'd. Nevertheless, the Duke of *Mayenne*, and the *Mareschal de Bouillon*, being satisfied, abandon'd the rest: But they found the Party was better united than they imagin'd; so that the Treaty they made had come to nothing, if a dangerous Fit of Sickness had not seiz'd the Prince of *Condé*, and so broken the Union of the Malecontents, who were now afraid of seeing themselves suddenly without a Head. The *Mareschal de Bouillon* endeavour'd all he could to have this Treaty sign'd by
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1615. the *English* Ambassadour ; but the Court would not suffer it : So that at last the Peace was sign'd without it ; and the Dukes of *Longueville* and *Vendôme* were the Sacrifices that fell to it, as well as the *Hugonots*, for whom no manner of care was taken.

This Peace, which ought to have produc'd a Calm at Court, caus'd nothing but Factions and Disorders there ; which made the People conclude, That the Ministers had nothing less in their Consideration, than the Welfare of the Kingdom. *Villeroy* and *Jeannin*, whom Chancellor de *Sillery* had ill us'd upon certain occasions, that he alone might have the Management of all Affairs, now found means to get the Seals taken from him, and got them bestow'd upon the President du *Vair*. Some time after, * *Claude Mangot* was join'd, as an Assistant, to *Villeroy*, in the Office of Secretary of State, at the instance of the Mareschal d'*Ancre*, who accus'd him with a Design to make him lose the Government of *Amiens*, that so it might fall into the hands of the Malecontents. As soon as the Prince of *Condé* was recover'd, he retir'd to his Government of *Berry*, which was given him in the room of that of *Guienne*. The Duke of *Sully* went to *Poitou*, and the Duke of *Rohan* to *Rochel*. There was only the Mareschal de *Bouillon*, and the Duke of *Mayenne*, who went to Court to penetrate their Designs, and to receive the Reward* that was promis'd them, if they abandon'd the Party. The Mareschal, who had an extraordinary Ascendant over the Prince of *Condé*, endeavour'd by that means to get himself respected as much as he could, and to have his share in the Administration of Affairs. But d'*Ancre*, who had a design to model the Council anew, and admit none there, but those Persons that wholly depended upon himself, oppos'd *Bouillon* underhand ; who plainly perceiving that there was no likelihood for him to attain his Ends by sticking to the Court, thought it would be his best way to hinder the Prince of *Condé* from coming thither, that so he might make use of him upon occasion. The Princess of *Condé*, and the Countess of *Soissons*, although they were not Friends, yet they concurr'd in the same Resolution ; because they were both desirous, in case the Prince return'd, that the Court should be only oblig'd to them for it.

But

* See the
Mem. d'*Au-*
tery, T. 1. p. 6.

But all these Intrigues came to nothing; for the Prince considering his own proper Interest, soon found it would be for his advantage to be reconcil'd to the Queen; and so manag'd this Affair by the Archbishop of *Bourges*. Upon condition they would employ him in publick Matters and declare him Chief of the Council of the Finances, he oblig'd himself to protect the *Mareschal d'Ancre*; after which, he return'd to *Paris*. He was there receiv'd with so much Joy and Acclamation, that some of his Enemies endeavour'd to render him suspected to the King for it. The *Mareschal de Bouillon* very well saw, that the Prince now began to be govern'd by his Advice no longer; however, lest he should lose the remainder of his Credit with him, he disssembled his Disgust; and in order to form a new Cabal, he labour'd to reconcile the Duke of *Guise* to his Brothers, and the Duke of *Nevers* to those of his Party.

During these Disorders, the Bishop of *Luçon* left no stone unturn'd, to get himself into some Office: He daily made his Court to the *Mareschal d'Ancre*, and contracted a Friendship with one *Barbin*, who was in his favour, and afterwards was made Comptroller-General of the Finances: These two procur'd for him the Place of Grand Almoner to the Queen, *Ann of Austria*. After he had taken possession of it, and had exercis'd it for some time, the *Mareschal d'Ancre* gave him leave to put it again into the hands of *M. Zamet*, Bishop of *Langres*, of whom he had a considerable Summ of Money, with which he paid some Debts of his Family, and put himself in a Condition to live with greater Splendour at Court.

Being thus discharg'd from the Attendance to which this Place oblig'd him, he endeavour'd more than ever to settle himself in the Good Graces of the *Mareschal*, who was so great a Favourite of the Queen-Mother; and as he appear'd to him to be a Man of great Sagacity, he soon gain'd his Friendship and Confidence; so that the *Mareschal* began to consult him upon the most important Affairs, and gave him hopes to expect a considerable Employment one day from him. The Queen made him a Privy-Counsellor, and design'd him shortly after to go into *Spain*, in Quality of Ambassador. He receiv'd this

Propo-

1615. Proposal with a great deal of Joy, whether it were that he was glad of an Opportunity to examine the Strength of *Spain* at a nearer View, or because he foresaw the Alterations that would soon happen at Court. But the Queen at last chang'd her Mind, and the Bishop of *Luçon* still continu'd near her Person.

1616. As 'tis natural for us to hate Strangers, when they arrive to too high a degree of Fortune, but especially when they govern the State, in exclusion of the Natives, the *M. d'Ancre* was so universally hated, that a Man without the Spirit of Prophecy might predict that he would not enjoy his Power long. The *M. de Bouillon* endeavour'd to make the King jealous of him, by the means of *Luines*, who, by his assiduity, and the care he took to follow the King in all his Sports, now began to be extreamly agreeable to him. The Duke of *Longueville*, an open Enemy of the *Mareschal d'Ancre*, because he had hinder'd him from being restor'd to the Citadel of *Amiens* by the Peace of *Loudun*, surpriz'd the City of *Pernone* by private Intelligence; and 'twas fear'd he would soon make himself Master of all *Picardy*, a Province of the last Consequence, by reason of its Neighbourhood to *Paris* on one side, and to the *Spaniards* on the other. The King being advis'd to enter into some sort of Accommodation with the Duke, rather than come to Blows, sent *Bouillon* to negotiate with him, who made two Journies into *Picardy*, with Orders to content him; but acted quite contrary, and employ'd all his Power to engage him in the Design to ruin *Concino*. At the same time, the Prince of *Condé* sent the Archbishop of *Bourges* to this Minister, to revoke the Promise he had made him to protect him against all his Enemies; and to let him know, that he could not abandon the Duke of *Longueville*. The *Mareschal*, who ought in Prudence, upon this News, to have retir'd to some Place of Security, with what he had gain'd in the Service of the Queen-Mother, resolv'd to stand it out, and try all means to support himself. He went to wait upon this Princess, and tells her, That the Prince mock'd her; that *Bouillon* deceiv'd her; and, that the rest of that Party were daily contriving how to ruin her Authority: To obviate and prevent which Designs, there was no other remedy than to be before-hand with them, and
secure

secure their Persons; because when this Faction was once destitute of Heads to encourage them, it would not be in a capacity to attempt any great matters. The Queen thought this Advice was somewhat too bold for her to put in execution; but the Bishop of *Luçon* and *Barbin* so strongly represented to her the necessity of doing it, that she gave her Consent. Thus to preserve an Authority, which at the bottom could not last long, and to secure her Favourite, the Queen-Mother hazarded all; as, on the other side, nothing was left unattempted to gain the same Authority; and all this under the specious Pretence of the Publick Good; a Misfortune which usually happens under all Regences, and under Princes that don't govern by themselves, but depend too much upon their Ministers.

The Queen cast her eyes upon the Marquis *de Thermes* to put this Project in execution; who having arrested the Prince in the *Louvre*, conducted him to the Forest of *Vincennes*, and receiv'd, as a Reward for so bold an Action, a Marechal's Staff of *France*. But the Duke of *Meyenne*, and the Marechal *de Bouillon*, having by some means or other notice of this Design, escap'd from those that were sent to apprehend them; and the Dukes of *Vendome* and *Guise* did the same. As soon as the News of the Prince of *Condé's* being imprison'd was spread in *Paris*, the People, instigated by his Mother, got together; and their Fury went so high in the *Fauxburgs* of *St. Germans*, that the Rabble ran to the Marechal *d'Ancre's* House, and plunder'd it. The Queen Regent took no notice of this at first, for fear of provoking the Populace too much; but soon after, the Marquis *de Crequi Maître de Camp* of the King's Guards, put an end to this Tumult. The Marechal *de Bouillon*, who had retired to *Sedan*, was continually pressing the Duke of *Guise* to go and set the Prince at liberty, and endeavour the Destruction of the Regent's Favourite. He offer'd to make him the Head of the whole Party, and counsell'd him to take up Arms without delay, and burn all the Mills about *Paris*, which would incense the Inhabitants the more against *Concino*, who was not at all belov'd by them. But seeing that this Advice made no impression upon the Duke, who was thinking how to recon-

1616. reconcile himself to the Court, that so he might have the Command of the King's Army bestow'd upon him, he propos'd to the Duke of *Mayenne* to seize him. Though this Proposal was extreamly well-tim'd, and nothing could have done the Party greater Service; yet the Duke of *Mayenne* would not listen to it. But the Queen did not fail to make her Advantage of this Oversight, by gaining the Duke of *Guise* to her Side, and all those that had a dependance upon him.

At this time the Queen made great Alterations in the Ministry, giving the Seals to *Mangot*, the * Office of Secretary of State to the Bishop of *Luçon*, and the Superintendence of the Finances to *Barbin*. It was specified in the Bishop's Patent, that he should have a Salary of Seventeen thousand Livres, without lessening that of *Villeroy*, who was still to continue in that Post jointly with the Bishop, although he was order'd to come no more to the Council-Table. This was in effect but a sorry Recompence for a Service of Fifty Years, to force any other Partner upon him than *Peter Bralard Sieur de Puisieux*, for whom he had got a Grant of the Survivorship. Nor was this the only thing that troubled *Villeroy*; for * the King at the same time granted to the Bishop, by another Patent, the Precedence before all the other Secretaries of State; which must needs be an excessive Mortification to a Man already grown old in that Employment. But the Bishop of *Luçon's* Ambition, as it knew no bounds, so it never car'd what Sacrifices fell to make the way clear for it. Soon after, the Queen publish'd an Edict, authoriz'd by the Parliament, wherein the King declares all those that had withdrawn themselves, to be guilty of High-Treason. At the same time he gave the Duke of *Guise* the Command of the Army, who made himself easily Master of all those Places which the Duke of *Nevers* had taken; and had certainly ruin'd the Affairs of the Malecontents, if the Death of the Marechal *S'Ancre* had not in some measure re-established them. A little before this happen'd, the Bishop of *Luçon* had sent to the Duke of *Nevers*, to know the Reason why such Preparations for War were made in the *Retelleze*: but instead of finding the Duke inclin'd to submit himself to the Regent's Ministers, he saw he was resolv'd to defend

* *Mem.*
* *Amb. T. I.*
p. 7.

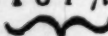
defend himself, however the Duke of *Guise* being in a better Posture to act than he was, oblig'd him to quit the Field. 'Tis said, that he sent a Justification in writing, which was put into the Hands of the Bishop of *Luçon*, as being chief Secretary of State, but that the Bishop suppress'd it. Whether this be true or no, 'tis certain the Court return'd him no Answer.

The *French*, who have been always accusom'd to be govern'd by their own Kings, or at least by those of their own Nation, were inrag'd to the highest degree, to see a Foreigner sit at the Head of the King's Counsel. Thus not only those that resided at Court combin'd against him, but even those that had been turn'd out of it, and were continually telling the King strange Stories of him, who was then not above Fifteen Years old. At last *Luines* perswaded him that this Minister thought of nothing else but how to preserve himself always in that usurp'd Station, to the great prejudice of his Majesty's Authority; and that the Queen-Mother, who was desirous to continue her Regence as long as she might, concerted Matters with him; so that the best Advice he could give him upon this occasion, was to rid his Hands of him with all speed, before he was too powerful for him. *Luines* knew so well how to influence the young King, by causing the same things to be perpetually buzz'd into his Ears by others, that unexperienc'd as he was, he soon discover'd their meaning, and cunningly dissembled this Resolution that was taken to kill the *Mareschal d'Ancre*. *Vitri*, Captain of the Guards, was chosen to put it in execution; who being accompanied by some others, kill'd him upon the Bridge of the *Louvre*. 'Tis * confidently reported that he had some ominous Presages of this Misfortune, and that he had propos'd to his Wife to withdraw into *Italy* with his Effects, which amounted to above Two Millions of Gold; but that she who was wholly abandon'd to Avarice and Ambition, oblig'd him to continue at Court. One time as he was freely opening his Mind to one of his Friends about this Matter, he express'd a great Concern, that he was not able to overcome the Opiniatreté of his Lady, to whom he ow'd his Fortune, and therefore durst never abandon her. In short, he manag'd himself in this

Juncture,

1617.

* *Mém. de
Bassompierre,
T. I. p. 420.*

1617.  Juncture, just as all those Persons do that have Sense enough to see what they ought to do, but are turn'd away from it by some unaccountable Passion, and can only accuse themselves for their own Destruction, since they do what they inwardly disapprove, and neglect to pursue those Methods which they know will be of the greatest advantage to them. The Blow being thus given, the King turn'd all his Creatures out of their Places, which he had given them; and the Bishop of *Luçon* was one of those that seem'd particularly to be mark'd out for a Sacrifice: He was forbidden to stir out of his House all that Day, and *Villeroy* retook his place of Secretary of State, thinking he should now discharge this Office without dividing it with the Bishop. The other ancient Ministers and Counsellors of State did likewise re-assume their Posts. The Queen saw herself at the same time deprived of her own Guards, and surrounded by those belonging to the King, without being able to speak a Word to any one. She was afterwards conducted to the Castle of *Blois*; where they kept her confin'd under a strict Guard. The Bishop of *Luçon* presented himself to the King, to justify his own Conduct; and *Luines* gave this Testimony of him, That he had faithfully serv'd his Majesty. The King immediately order'd him to continue to serve him in his Council; but the Bishop finding some difficulty to get admission there from some of the ancient Ministers who were lately re-established, his Majesty commanded *Vignoles* to accompany him to the Council-Chamber. *Vignoles* gave them to understand that the King had order'd the Bishop of *Luçon* to serve him as before. *Villeroy* who had never been at the Council-Table since the Death of the Marechal d'*Ancre*, thought they design'd to make him his Partner, so he desired *Vignoles* to go and enquire of the King, whether it was in that Quality that the Bishop of *Luçon* was re-admitted into the Council. In the mean time, the Bishop being sensible that now the Marechal d'*Ancre* was gone, he had no more to do there, was resolv'd to give himself the Honour of this Affair: So calling the President *Jeannin* to him, he requested him to acquaint *Villeroy*, that he had not the least Pretensions to his Place

Place. Soon after *Vignoles* return'd, and told them his Majesty's meaning was, that the Bishop of *Luçon* should only serve him in Quality of Privy-Counsellor. Upon this the Bishop withdrew, and the Secretaries of State representing to the King what an Injury they might hereafter sustain by that Order, which enabled the Bishop of *Luçon* to take place of them all, since other Bishops when they were admitted into the Council might draw a President from it, his Majesty was pleased to revoke it. There is this * remarkable Passage in this Revocation, That under a pretence of the Episcopal Character, the Bishop of *Luçon*, who at that time was one of the Secretaries of State, had the Precedence given him before all the other Secretaries, in all Meetings of the Council and publick Assemblies, to the manifest prejudice of the Order which is observ'd among them, and indeed of all Equity.

After this had pass'd, it was not much for the Bishop of *Luçon*'s Credit to tarry at Court; and I believe no one in these Circumstances but would have immediately withdrawn; nay, perhaps any one but he would have return'd to his Bishoprick, to discharge those weighty Functions to which his Character oblig'd him. But as for him, who only consider'd the Episcopal Dignity as a fairer step to advance himself in the World, he went by the King's Permission to wait upon the Queen at *Blon*, in hopes of being re-establish'd in his Fortune as soon as she was. He pretended to take upon him the care of her Domestick Affairs, and assum'd the Title of Steward of her Household, without troubling his Head whether it was agreeable to the Profession of a Bishop. But *Luines*, who was apprehensive of the busie active Genius of this Prelate, lest he should suggest some Advices to the Queen, whereby she might reconcile her self to the King, sent him Word Three or Four Weeks after, That it was his Majesty's Pleasure he should immediately retire to his Priory of *Coussay* in *Anjou*. After he had shut himself up in this place, People suspected, that instead of meddling with Theological Tracts, as he pretended, he was writing Memoirs and Dispatches concerning Affairs of State. From hence he writ a Letter of Justification to

1617.

• See *Aubrey's*
Hist. of
Card. Rich.
 p. 14.

the King*, wherein he acquaints him, " That some of those Persons who design'd to destroy his Credit with the Queen, had endeavour'd to insinuate into her Majesty, that she ought not to repose any Confidence in him, because he was too zealous for the Service of the King, and of those whom he most affected : (*This was assuredly a most horrid Calumny ; for our good Bishop minded nothing but his own Advancement :*) " That nevertheless the Queen, who had no other Intentions than to live peaceably in an entire Obedience to her Son, express'd the greater Kindness to him for it, and confided the more in his Advice : That by the like Artifices of the same Persons, divers Reports were spread abroad, That the King was not well pleas'd to see him near the Queen his Mother ; That upon this he had beg'd her Permission to retire for some time, and inform himself more particularly of his Majesty's Pleasure : That he had lived privately ever since at his own House, searching among his Books, an Employment not unsuitable to his Profession : That nevertheless the Queen had signified to him the Satisfaction she took to hear that it was the King's Intention that he should in a short time return to her again : Lastly, That he prayed to God to shew him no mercy, if ever in Thought or Deed he had acted contrary to his Majesty's Service.

1618.

This ambiguous Oath, which will admit of any meaning a Man is pleas'd to give it, wrought no wonderful Effects at Court : On the contrary, they suspected more than ever, that he endeavour'd to get himself restor'd by the Queen's means, who could not always continue in Disgrace. To remove him the further from *Blois*, he was order'd to go and reside at *Li-gon* ; nay, thinking he was still too near her, they commanded him to depart the Kingdom, and expect the King's Orders at *Avignon*. During his Abode in this place, he compos'd or finish'd Two Books, one of which is entituled, *The Instruction of a Christian*, and contains the Principles of Christianity, according to the Order of the Apostles Creed, the Decalogue, the Lord's Prayer, &c. The other is a Controversial Treatise, with this Title, *A Defence of the Principal Points of our Belief, against*

Book I. Cardinal de Richlieu.

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gainst a Letter of Four Ministers of Charenton, presented to the King. There is nothing in both these Works, but is what extremely mean and indifferent; so that if they cost the Bishop of Luçon any great pains, all the World must own, that he was an abler Politician than a Divine.

All this while *Luines* was absolute Master of the King's Inclinations, whom he amus'd with childish Pastimes, or with Exercises of Devotion, to which this Prince had naturally a great Propensity. He would suffer none to approach or talk with him in private, unless he knew what the matter was; and although he had few or no Friends in the Kingdom to support him; and besides, had but a very small insight into Affairs, yet he adventured to sit at the Helm, and after he had enrich'd himself with the Spoils of the *Mareschal d'Ancre*, who in a Ministry of seven Years had heap'd together a prodigious Wealth, he saw himself in a situation to be respected by the greatest Persons in the Kingdom. As the Prince of *Conde* had now for a long while been imprison'd in the Castle of *Vincennes*, and the Queen confin'd at *Blon*, it was high time to consider to set one of them at Liberty, because it was not possible to find a pretence for keeping both in Custody. Several Reasons hinder'd him from determining himself in favour of the Prince, who was equally covetous, to command and to acquire Riches. The *French* naturally have as great an Affection for the Princes of the Blood, as they have an Aversion to the Ministers; so that to take the Prince out of his Prison, was in effect the same thing, as to re-establish him in the Government of the State. As he was exceedingly belov'd by the People, and of a bold daring Temper, it was not to be suppos'd that he would accept of *Luines* as his Equal in the Administration of Affairs, who could not endure to see the *Mareschal d'Ancre* in that Post: Nay, though he should not concern himself in publick Matters, yet he lov'd Money so excessively, that he would either have the possession or disposal of all Offices, when they were vacant. It seem'd that *Luines* had not so much to apprehend from the Queen-Mother, who was at that time depriv'd of her most faithful Servants, and in whom the King in all prob-

1618. bability would never repose any great Confidence, after he had treated her in so course a manner. But then she was so strongly incensed against *Luines*, who was the occasion of her Disgrace, that if ever she had an opportunity to express her Revenge, there was no question to be made but she would do it effectually.

While *Luines* was thus perplex'd what Side to take in this difficult Conjunction, the Queen-Mother depriv'd him of the means to declare himself in favour of her. The Marechal de *Bouillon* had advis'd her to endeavour to make her escape out of the Castle of *Blois*, and to sollicite the Duke of *Espernon* to assist her upon this occasion. He was a Person of great Authority, Courage, and Sagacity; and one that had perform'd great Services for *Henry IV.* The difficulty was how to gain him, because he was then at Court, with a design to reunite himself to the Royal Party. To accomplish this, the Queen's secret Friends employ'd all their Cunning to render the Duke suspected to *Luines* for his great Reputation, and his proud and haughty Temper, Qualities that were enough to give umbrage to a Minister. On the other hand, they endeavour'd to provoke the Duke against *Luines*, representing to him, that if he did not daily make his Court to him, he must never expect to obtain any thing at his hands. It was a long while ago since they had promised to get a Cardinal's Cap for his Son the Archbishop of *Toulouse*, without giving themselves any trouble to make good their Promise; and to inflame him the more, *Du Vair*, Keeper of the Seals, having had some Conteſts with the Duke about their taking of Places at the Council-Table, the Keeper of the Seals had obtain'd a Decree in favour of himself. This disgusted the Duke exceedingly, who was also possess'd with an Imagination, that there was a design to apprehend him; so that he resolv'd, without taking any Farewel, to retire to *Metz*, of which Place he was Governour, and performed it without any difficulty.

* See the Relation of the Queen's departure by the Cardinal de la Valette, in *Aubery*, T. I. p. 135.

Vincennes, who had been Secretary to the Marechal d'*Ancre* *, went to visit him, from the part of the Queen in this City, and to propose to him the design of delivering her from *Blois*. The Duke, who was sufficiently provoked against *Luines*, promised to do whatever the

the Queen desir'd, 'provided she wou'd engage him in nothing that was contrary to the service he ow'd his Majesty. He was to assign her *Loches* for her retirement, or any other place in his Government of *Saintonges*; but what was to have been executed in the Summer of the Year 1618, was not done till the beginning of the next Year, by reason of some Disappointments, which we shall here omit,

1618.

The Duke of *Espernon* having travers'd all *France* with Three Hundred Horse, arriv'd at *Loches* in the Month of *January*; and one Night the Queen got out of the Castle of *Blon*, through a Window, by the assistance of a certain Ladder, which an *Exempt* of the Guards had provided for her, at the foot of which were Four or Five Persons to receive her, with *du Plessis*, a Creature of the Duke of *Espernon*. The Queen walk'd with them along the Ditch, and got to the other end of the Bridge, where her Coach waited for her: She had none but one of the Women of the Bed-Chamber with her, and carried away nothing but her Jewels, and a Lanthorn; for she durst not be all Night in the Coach without a Wax-Candle lighted. After this manner she was conducted to *Montrichard*, where she changed Horses, and found the Abbot *Rucellai*, with the Arch-Bishop of *Toulouse*, and some other Persons waited for her. With this Company she went to *Loches*, and made all the haste she cou'd. The Duke of *Espernon*, who had arriv'd there the Evening before, came a League out of Town to meet her; but the Queen after she had staid a day there to expect her Train, retir'd to *Angoulême*, where several that were disgusted at *Luines's* Ministry, came to offer their Service to her. 'Tis affirm'd, that this Enterprize which had been a long while projecting, was communicated to abundance of People, but that *Luines* was so negligent, that he had not the least notice of it; which evidently shows that this Minister was not so well qualified for the Post he held.

1619.

He was in a strange confusion when this News first arriv'd to him, and that the Queen ow'd her Liberty to others, by which he might have oblig'd her himself, if, as it was in his Power, he had procur'd it for her

619. before. But it happily fell out for him that the Bishop of *Luçon*, who was weary of writing Theological Books in his Exile, sent his Brother-in-Law *du Pont de Courlay* to offer his Service to him, and to assure him that his greatest Ambition was to serve the King, and himself in particular. *Luines* accepted his Offer, believing he was the fittest Person to bring the Queen to an Accommodation, and to sow Dissention between those of her Party; so to lose no time, he sent him a Pass-port from the King, with a Letter, wherein he desir'd him to make all the hast imaginable to go to the Queen-Mother. At the bottom of the Letter the King added these Words with his own Hand, *I desire you to believe that what is written above is my Will, and that you cannot do me a greater Service than to see it perform'd.* The Bishop departed as soon as ever he receiv'd this Letter, and taking Post, was stopt between *Valence* and *Piemme*, by the Captain of the Guards to the Marquis *d'Alencourt*, Governour of *Lyons*, and conducted to that City; but upon showing his Orders from the King and *Luines*, he made his Excuse, and suffer'd him to continue his Journey. Being at last arriv'd at *Angoulême*, after he had receiv'd necessary Instructions from *Luines*, he knew so well how to conceal the correspondence which he entertain'd with this Minister, that he perswaded her it was only his desire to serve her which had made him travel thro' the Kingdom with so much danger to himself, to be near her Person. This Discourse made so sensible an Impression upon this Princess, that she look'd upon him to be the most faithful Servant she had about her. In a few Days he so wrought upon her by his Insinuations, that the confidence she repos'd in the Duke of *Espenon* and the Arch-Bishop of *Toulouse*, was exceedingly diminish'd. He prevail'd so far as to have the Abbot *Ruccellai* turn'd away, and made her jealous of the Marquis *de Themines*, and *de Mosny*; so that he was the only Person to whom the Queen discover'd her most important Affairs, and whose Advice she rely'd upon. Thus he preserv'd at the same time the Favour of the Court, and that of the Queen, to put himself in a Capacity to make the best Advantage of an Accommodation, whatever it was.

Soon

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Soon after a Treaty was concluded at *Angoulême*, by which some places of Security were put into the Queen's hands, that so she might have no scruple to come back to Court. One of these places was the Citadel of *Angers*, the Government of which the Queen bestow'd upon *Richlieu*, eldest Brother to the Bishop of *Luçon*, and after his Death to the *Commandeur de la Porte*, his Unkle by the Mother's side. The Bishop plac'd such Governours as he saw fitting at *Pont du Cé*, and at *Chinon*: However finding no prospect as yet to get himself re-admitted into the Council of State, in case he came along with the Queen to Court, he dissuaded this Princess from going thither, tho' the King incessantly press'd her to come. At this time the King was at *Tours*, and was in hopes that his Mother would soon visit him there; but all that she promised him amounted only to this, that she would go to *Angers*, where she should be nearer to his Majesty. This Prince soon after writ her a very affectionate Letter, which was brought to her by the Duke de *Montbason*, Father-in-Law to *Luines*, wherein he assur'd her how desirous he was to live with her, as he had formerly done. But it was impossible to alter her Resolution; so that the Court began to suspect there was some Artifice in the Bishop of *Luçon*'s Conduct, and that he had a mind to render himself more necessary to the King, by retarding this Accommodation which they so passionately desir'd.

The Duke de *Montbason* at his * return from *Angoulême*. In July.
inform'd the King that the Queen Mother stuck at some Difficulties of small importance, as among the rest, that pursuant to the Promise which the King had made her, to restore the Duke of *Espernon*, and all the rest that had follow'd her, to their former Offices; she requir'd that two Captains of the King's Guards that had attended her, should be likewise re-establish'd. But tho' the King had made this Promise in general terms, he did not judge it convenient to trust his Person in the hands of those People that had carried Arms against him. The Queen likewise made a difficulty to come directly to meet the King, and complain'd that he did not invite her to come and see him, but forc'd her.

1619. She said she would go to *Angers*, and that after she had taken possession of that place, she would come to Court. These studied Objections on the Queen's side seem'd to argue not only a great Distrust, but a much greater Artifice*; so that it was no longer to be doubted but that the Bishop of *Luçon* was the occasion of all this. In fine, the Queen's obstinacy carry'd it, and *Tormigères* and *Borde* were restor'd to their Regiment of the Guards; altho' when the Duke of *Espernon* retir'd to *Metz*, they follow'd him without leave, with the greatest part of their Soldiers. The King express'd a great unwillingness to consent to this re-establishment, but *Luines* at last prevail'd with him to grant it, to let the Queen-Mother see he was ready to serve her in whatever lay in his power, and to support himself on this side against the Authority of the Prince of *Conde*, who was still in Prison, and had just occasion to complain that he was kept there so long. For the same reason the Queen was left at liberty, to come directly to *Tours*, or else to go to *Angers* before, that so she might not harbour any suspicion that there was a design to lead her in Triumph to *Paris*, as she had pretended formerly. When they now expected that she was already on her Journey, she demanded to have the Duke of *Mayenne* put into her hands, for her Security that she should receive no ill Treatment; but as he had no inclination to serve for an Hostage, and besides, being a Subject of the King, if they had not thought fit to keep their Word, they would have made no account of that pretended Security, therefore the Queen was given to understand that it was to no purpose to demand it; so that at last she contented herself with Letters from the King, from *Luines*, and Father *Arnaud* his Majesty's Confessor.

* Aug. 24. In the Month of *August* * the King made two Marshals of *France*, *Pralin*, and *S. Geran*, whom *Luines* by this favour brought over to his own Party, whereas they had no Kindness for him before. At the same time a Patent pass'd the Seals for him, by which the King declar'd him Duke and Peer of *France*, as soon as he purchas'd some Lands, which would enable him to carry that Title. One of his Brothers resign'd the

Earl-

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Earldom of *Maille* to him, and so by joining some Estates in the Neighbourhood to it, he caus'd them to be erected into a Dutchy and Peerdom. There was some difficulty to get his Letters registred in the Parliament of *Paris*, because the *Mareschal de l'Esdiquieres*, who had the like Patent some time before, had it not as yet registred, and it was not reasonable that another should pass before his. This he got his Son-in-Law the *Marquis de Crequi* to represent at Court, but the fortune of *Luines* carried it.

At last the Queen * parted from *Angoulême*, with a * *Aug. 29.* Train of Ten Coaches and Six Horses, and Five Hundred Persons on Horse-back. When she took her leave of the Duke of *Espernon*, she made him a Present of a very fine Diamond, not to repay the Expence he had been at; for he had spent Two Hundred Thousand Crowns in her Service, but to keep it in Memory of her. As for himself, he accompanied her no farther than the Frontiers of his Province; but his Son the Arch-Bishop of *Toulouse* staid with her still. Several other Persons of Quality accompanied her likewise, and among the rest the Bishop of *Luçon*, for whose Services she had too much occasion to send him back to his Diocess. She dispatch'd him to go before to inform his Majesty of her arrival, and he was receiv'd at Court with all Demonstrations of Kindness, particularly by the Duke of *Luines*, who was ravish'd to see the Accommodation with the Queen-Mother at last concluded. Next Morning the Bishop return'd to certifie the Queen after what manner they had receiv'd this News at Court.

As she * drew near, the Cardinal of *Retz*, and Fa- * *Sept. 4.* ther *Arnaud* came to meet her; nay, the Duke of *Luines* advanc'd-as far as *Montbason*, where he saluted her with all the Marks of an entire submission, and where he was likewise receiv'd with a great deal of Civility. The Queen conducted him herself to her Closet, where she tarried two Hours alone with him. 'Tis commonly reported that he excus'd himself for all that was past, and made solemn Protestations to serve her for the future; so that the Queen appear'd to be very well satisfied. The next Day the King came in Person to *Cou-
sieres*,

1619. *sieres*, a House belonging to the Duke of *Montbason*, near *Tours*, where the Queen being first arriv'd, she went to receive him on foot in the Park. The Mother and Son embrac'd one another with all imaginable signs of Tenderness, and every thing that had pass'd seem'd to be entirely forgotten. The Queen was promis'd all she demanded, but especially a Summ of Money, for which she pretended to have present occasion. The King receiv'd those whom she presented to him, as the Arch-Bishop of *Toulouse*, and several others that had serv'd her, with extraordinary Kindness. At last the whole Court took the way to *Tours*, and the King having parted first on Horse-back, the Queen follow'd him in her Coach. From *Tours* the Court went to *Maille*, which the King with great Solemnity erected into a Duchy and Peerdom, in honour of his Favourite, who' gave a most magnificent Entertainment there.

After the King had thus seen his Mother the second time, they liv'd to all appearance in perfect Amity; nor was the Duke of *Luines* backward to pay her all manner of Respects; so that she seem'd to be disgusted at nothing. Nevertheless, as they fail'd to perform what they had promis'd her, when they talk'd of going to *Paris*, she began to say she was not in a Humour to be carried in Triumph thither; so that she parted for *Angers*, on *September* the 23d. after she had given her Promise to follow the King soon after. All People were surpriz'd, that after she had obtain'd whatever she desir'd, and had concluded so advantageous a Treaty, she made any scruple to go to *Paris*: But besides that the Treaty was not faithfully executed, she found she should have no share in the Government, any farther than the King would be pleas'd to allow her, whereas she Reign'd absolutely before; this made her imagine, that if she went with the King to *Paris*, it would be all one as if she follow'd his Triumphant Chariot. 'Tis indeed very probable, that the Bishop of *Luçon*, who accompanied her every-where, took care so to put this Idea into her Head; who was resolv'd neither to go to his Bishoprick, nor return to *Paris*, with the bare Title of Bishop of *Luçon*.

Before

Before the Queen-Mother parted for *Angers*, the Duke of *Luines* had endeavour'd to sound her Inclinations, about setting the Prince of *Condé* at liberty: But she could not be brought to declare her Mind upon that Article. However, as the Duke was sensible that he could confine him no longer, without raising too great a number of Malecontents; and that it was commonly said, That the *Hugonots* were preparing to demand his Liberty, he thought it would be a piece of good Policy to secure himself of the Prince's Friendship, by preventing them. Although the Queen-Mother had protested she was very well satisfied with him, yet he thought it not prudent to rely too much upon it; and the Authority of the Prince seem'd to him very proper to counterballance the Power of that Princess. With these Resolutions he arriv'd at *Vincennes* the 19th. of *October*, and presented to the Prince a Letter from the King, whereby he set him at liberty, after he had been a Prisoner three Years and two Months. He offered him his Service, and conjured him to take him into his Protection; which the Prince promised to do with abundance of Joy. The next day the Prince came to *Paris*, and begg'd the King's Pardon on his Knees, beseeching him to forgive what was past, and thanking him for the Liberty he had bestowed upon him. The King made him rise up after this Compliment, and received him very graciously.

In the mean time, the Queen-Mother spoke not the least word of coming back to Court, and gave them fresh occasion to suspect her, by receiving a Deputation which the *Hugonots* assembled at *Loudun* had made her. They testified the great Joy they received at her coming, and at her abode in the Province of *Anjou*; and communicated to her the Demands they design'd to present to the King. The Queen graciously thanked them, and assured them they should have a good Neighbour of her. It was the Opinion at Court, that she ought to have sent back that Deputation to the King, to prevent all suspicion of any new Quarrels. They were also displeased that she drew after her the Nobility of *Anjou* and the neighbouring Places, who made her frequenter Visits than the Court desired. The Duke of *Luines*
never

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Mem. Rac.
 p. 62.

never * mentioned her but with a world of Respect, although, on the other side, he did all that lay in his power to oblige the Prince of *Conde*, whom he got restored to his Government of *Berry*, and to his Pensions. He gained him admission into the Cabinet-Council, and seemed to pay a wonderful Deference to all his Opinions. Now the Prince and he were both agreed, that the sooner they prevailed with the Queen to come to Court, it would be so much the better, and hinder her from always fomenting a Party in the State. But the more they press'd her to come back, the more Pretences she found to defer her Journey.

* Nov. 14.

The Duke of *Luines*, in this interval *, took the usual Oath in Parliament, in Quality of Duke and Peer: The Marquis de *Crequi* came thither after him, to get the Patent of his Father-in-Law the Marechal de *l'Esdi-gueres*, registred likewise, who was received after the same manner, and between whom and the Duke of *Luines* it was agreed, that the latter should give him the Precedence during his Life only. The Prince of *Conde*, to do the greater Honour to the Favourite, accompanied him to the Parliament, and brought him back. At the same time a Declaration of the King was printed and published, bearing Date the 9th. of *November*, concerning the Enlargement of the Prince of *Conde*; in the Preamble of which, it was said, That the past Disorders had sufficiently convinced the World to what a height the Boldness of some Persons was arrived, who because they had the Honour to be related to the King, and to have some Offices in the State, had so notoriously abused his Name and Authority, that if God Almighty had not given him Resolution and Courage enough to chastise them, the whole Kingdom had fallen into a miserable Confusion. Among the other Mischiefs which their ill Conduct had occasioned, the Prince's Imprisonment was reckoned as one, whom 'twas said they design'd to destroy, as well as *France*. The King declared him wholly innocent, and gave him this Testimony, that he had done nothing but what was for the Grandeur of his Sovereign, and the good of the State. All this was directly contrary to what had hitherto been done, in relation to the Prince, and particularly to his Confinement, which

which the King had approved of long ago. At the bottom it was true, that neither the Marechal d'Ancre, nor the Prince, had any regard to the Welfare of the State, or the King's Glory, but only to enrich themselves, and support their own Authority: But then the Fault was infinitely more pardonable in the First Prince of the Blood, than in a *Florentine*, as *Concino Concini* was; so that when once Resolutions were taken to re-establish the Prince of *Conde*, it was the best way to throw all the Accusation upon the Marechal d'Ancre, whom they had ordered to be slain.

This Declaration being communicated to the Queen, extremely offended her for the manner wherein it was worded, because it openly reflected upon her Regency; although the Prince of *Conde* sent a Gentleman to compliment her, the very Morning he was set at liberty. The Bishop of *Luçon*, who had advised her to apprehend the Prince, could not read the beginning of the King's Declaration, without seeing himself condemned by it, and what he was to expect from a Man of that Quality, in whose Favour the King expressed himself in such emphatical Terms. However, he dissembled the matter, and laboured to fix himself in the good Graces of the Duke of *Luines*, though he still waited upon the Queen, who reposed Confidence in him. She refused to return to Court, unless they would allow her the same Number of Guards she used to have during her Regency. This at first occasioned abundance of Difficulties; but in the conclusion, *Luines*, who was apprehensive that the Prince's Interest would encrease too fast, prevailed to have it granted her.

It was now believed that nothing more remain'd to bring the Queen to Court, and that she would set forward as soon as her Affairs would permit her, when the Negotiation began to slacken on the sudden, through the Intrigues of those that were about her, who desired to see her as great in the Government as formerly she had been, without which her return to Court would be of no Service to them, since she would not be in a capacity to reward them. But to propose so nice and ticklish a Point as this, was enough to break off all again. The Queen suspected the new Friendship between the Prince

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Prince of *Conde* and the Duke of *Luines*; and as the latter was afraid of this Princess, he made a greater Interest every Day in the Prince. In the mean time the Duke and his Two Brothers had an absolute Sway at Court, and manag'd all things as they pleas'd, sticking at nothing that might do them any Advantage, and no Injury.

The Queen-Mother, who had seem'd to acquiesce in the Reasons which were sent to her, concerning the King's Declaration in favour of the Prince of *Conde*, began to raise new Complaints about it. She would have the King publish another to justify her Conduct, since she had not imprison'd the Prince without acquainting his Majesty before-hand without it. She gave out that she would receive the Duke of *Roan* into Protection, altho' he was a *Hugonot*, and hated by the Prince, because he was in the same Room with him in the *Louvre* when he was apprehended, and did not make the least offer to rescue him. This was sufficient to raise new Contests, which were not so easie to be determin'd. The King was too much vex'd that he had publish'd Two opposite Declarations, the one against, and the other for the Prince of *Conde*, to be ever perswaded to issue out a third: However they were afraid that the Queen would bring over the *Hugonots* to her Party. To accommodate these Differences, and bury these Suspicions, the King offer'd to write his Mother a Letter, which should be the same in effect with a Declaration; and the Queen offer'd to certify the Publick in Writing, that she had made no secret Confederacy with the *Hugonots*. She likewise offer'd to make the Duke of *Roan* leave *Angers*. But the Reasons of the Bishop of *Luçon*, and those that had serv'd her, continu'd still in the same force; so that these and several other Proposals had no manner of Success, but came to nothing.

While this Treaty was on Foot, the Duke of *Mayenne*, who was disgusted because the King had not paid him the Hundred and fifty thousand Crowns which had been promis'd him long ago, to defray the Expences he had been at, left the Court without taking leave of the King, and posted down by great Journeys to his Government of *Guienne*. His unexpected Departure wholly

* The 25th
of March.

ly confirm'd the Court in their Suspensions, that a great Party of Malecontents was already form'd, and that the Queen-Mother would appear at the Head of them. The greatest Lords in the Kingdom seem'd to be of that side; and after the Death of the *Mareschal d'Ancre*, so little Satisfaction had been given them, that the Duke of *Luines* had reason to apprehend a Storm from every quarter. The King's Youth and Temper, which was naturally timorous and distrustful, gave him just occasion to be upon his Guard: And as his Majesty must of necessity be the Prey of the Victorious Party, and consequently approve their Conduct, and condemn the weaker side, there was no regard had to the Welfare of the Nation, but every one was finding out proper means to fortifie the Faction he had espous'd.. Upon this consideration the Duke of *Luines*, after a long Debate, came to this Resolution at last, to use all his Endeavours to bring the Queen to Court again. He design'd to send the Duke of *Montbason* to her; who at first refus'd to go thither, because, he said, the Queen would reproach him that nothing of what he had promis'd her by the King's Order had been perform'd, and that he had no Excuses to make for that Omission. To oblige him to undertake this Journey, and to remove all Difficulties which the Queen might raise, they gave him a Blank Paper, with a promise to ratifie, without any hesitation, whatever she desir'd. He *parted with these Orders, and the King follow'd him a few Days after and advanced as far as *Tours*, in order to press the Queen's return with greater Vigour, a Solecism in Politicks, which abundance of People condemn'd, as being more likely to alarm than bring her home.

The 6th of
April.

The Duke of *Montbason* being soon arriv'd at *Angers*, found the Queen dispos'd, in all appearance, to come to Court; but she was willing to see part of what was promis'd her perform'd before-hand, and particularly what related to a certain Summ of Money, which had not been paid her, notwithstanding all the fair Words they had given her, to oblige her in this Point. She likewise said there was no necessity of the King's coming as far as *Tours*, and that she cou'd find the way well enough to *Paris*, without his giving himself

1620. self the trouble of coming so far. After this Conference, she dispatch'd *Bouthillier* her Secretary to Court, and the Duke of *Montbason* sent a Gentleman to inform the King of what had past. It was thought convenient that the King, who was already at *Orleans*, shou'd return back; so he * went to *Fontainbleau*, and from thence to *Paris*; which confirm'd the Opinion of those Persons who had disapprov'd of his Voyage. The Duke of *Montbason* came back shortly after, and assur'd them there was no way so effectual to facilitate the Queen's return, as to give her satisfaction in all they had promis'd her, and particularly to remit her those Summs of Money, which they had engag'd to let her have. But the Duke of *Luines*, who could have been content with all his heart that none of these Promises should be observ'd, for fear of increasing the Forces of the Queen's Party, cou'd not resolve to keep his Word with her; and the Prince of *Conde* encourag'd him in this Humour, by making Advice be given him from all parts, that the Queen had form'd a Design to get him Assassinated. The Queen for her part, had no great Inclinations to put herself again in the hands of the Duke of *Luines*, by coming back to Court, unless she were convinc'd by seeing the Treaty executed, that they design'd to deal honourably with her. Nevertheless as it was a Matter of the highest importance to the Duke of *Luines* to disengage the Queen from the Party of the Male-contents, he sent her the Money she demanded, and perform'd some other things, according to her desires.

The Messenger that was dispatch'd upon this Occasion found the Scene somewhat alter'd, altho' the Queen made continual Protestations that she long'd for nothing more than to see her Son. She plainly told him that she could not trust herself with the Duke of *Luines*, and much less with the Prince of *Conde*, of whom she made very severe Complaints; that she cou'd not come back to the Court with any Security, unless some foreign Prince, or the Parliaments of the Kingdom wou'd intervene, to be *Guarrantees* of the Treaty; that if they wou'd give her none of these Securities, she shou'd be oblig'd to continue at *Angers*, where she wou'd expect
the

the performance of the other things they had promis'd her; that if they molested her, she wou'd take all the measures she judg'd necessary to defend herself. *Blainville*, who was the Person that was sent to the Queen, having acquainted the Duke of *Luines* with what she had told him; this Favourite began to fear that she sought an opportunity to embroil him with the Parliament, and deliver him into their hands. *Blainville* in endeavouring to insinuate himself into the Queen's good Affections, possess'd her with new Apprehensions. He told her the Duke of *Luines* wou'd never give ear to several suggestions of her Majesty's Enemies, who had frequently intimated to him, that he might with more safety to himself have shut her up close in the Castle of *Vincennes*, or sent her back to *Florence*, or done something worse to her. This Discourse made the Queen recollect with herself, and thinking what a Risque she had run while she was in the hands of the Duke of *Luines*, she consider'd in what new Dangers she shou'd be involv'd if she return'd to *Paris*.

In the mean time the Duke of *Mayenne* being sent for back to Court, excus'd himself from going thither, pretending he could do his Majesty greater Service in his Government than at *Paris*, but promis'd at the same time to continue inviolably firm to his Interests. Nevertheless it was known that he had sent several Gentlemen to the Queen-Mother, to the Duke of *Espernon*, and to the Duke of *Montmorenci*, and that he had been at *Blaye* to confer with the Count d' *Aubeterre*, Governour of that important place, and one that was disaffected to the Court. The Countess of *Soissons* also entertain'd a strict Correspondence with the Queen, and it was fear'd that she would quit the Court, together with her Son, to joyn with the Duke of *Longueville*, her Son-in-Law.

This inauspicious disposition of Affairs so far influenc'd the Duke of *Luines*, that, notwithstanding all the Artifices of the Prince of *Conde*, he try'd all ways to accommodate matters with the Queen. He dispatch'd *Blainville* afresh to her, with a Summ of Two Hundred Thousand Franks, and granted her several other things which she demanded; but as for what regarded the Se-

1629. curities she insisted upon, it was not possible for him to oblige her in that Point. To make amends for that, the King writ to her, and assur'd her that she might safely depend upon his Word; and that if the Duke of *Luines* did not treat her as she expected, he wou'd give her leave to depart when she pleas'd. Upon this the Queen seem'd willing enough to come to Court; but she demanded some time to prepare herself for her Journey, being not in a condition to depart immediately. The Bishop of *Luçm* and her other Counsellors talk'd after the same manner; but in answer to the Kings Letter, they reply'd, that his Word was not a sufficient Security to his Mother, because as the Duke of *Luines* had the entire disposal of his Will, so he would make him do whatever he pleas'd.

June 19. *Blainville* return'd to Court with this Answer; but was soon * sent back to *Angers*, to acquaint the Queen that his Majesty gave her Three Weeks to prepare for her Journey, which had been so long expected; and that in the mean time he conjur'd her not to be alarm'd at those Preparations for War he was now making.

June 29. As the Duke of *Luines* affected to govern the State alone, and to be the only Channel by which the King distributed all his Favours to his Subjects, in exclusion of the greatest Lords in the Kingdom, the farther he went, the more Enemies he created to himself. The Duke of *Nemours* made his escape out of *Paris* by Night, and retir'd to *Angers*; the Duke of *Vendome* did the same, and the Queen's Party increas'd every Day. The Court * receiv'd information that the Countess of *Soissons* was ready to follow them, with her Son, and the Count de *St. Aignan*: But the Duke of *Luines* instead of resolving suddenly what Measures to take in this Critical Juncture, gave them an Opportunity to escape. Thus the Prince of *Conde* being left alone at Court, there was none to counter-balance his Authority but the Duke of *Luines*, who had no other Foundation to trust to but his Master's Favour, which might change. The King apply'd himself to nothing; and had neither Resolution enough to do any thing of his own head, nor Constancy to make himself be fear'd. He wanted an able Minister, that possess'd the Royal Qualities of which he was destitute,

tute, to govern in his Name. All the Grandees who knew his Weakness, pretended to this Post, and were assur'd their Conduct would be approv'd, if they could by any means attain it. This caus'd all the Divisions that threw the State into such frequent Convulsions, and which lasted till a great Minister, who had an absolute Ascendant over the King's Spirit, was in a capacity to destroy all those that pretended to share the Supreme Authority with him.

At this time the Queen's Party was in a formidable Posture. All the Maritime Provinces from *Diepe* as far as the *Garonne*, were in the hands of the Male-contents, with abundance of places all over the Kingdom, and a considerable number of great Lords, and experienc'd Officers. The Duke of *Longueville* was Master of *Normandy*; the Count de *Soissons* possess'd *Dreux*, *Ferté-Bernard*, *Perche*, and a great part of *Maine*; the Marechal *Boisdaupin* held all about *Santre* and *Mayenne*, *Château*, *Goutier*, and *Sablé*; the Duke of *Vendome* was Master of a great part of the course of the River *Loire*, upon which the Queen had *Angers* and *Pont de Cé*; the Dukes de *la Trimouille*, and de *Rets* had under them, the first *Poitou*, and the other *Britany*; the Duke of *Roehan* was Governour of *St. John d'Angeli*; the Duke of *Espernon* commanded in *Angoumois*, and in *Saintonge*; the Duke of *Mayenne* govern'd *Bourdeaux* and *Guienne*. In short, several others of the best Quality in the Kingdom, who were encourag'd by the King's weakness to hope for every thing, held a great number of strong Places, and were ready to make the best Advantage they could of these publick Commotions. But that which in all probability seem'd to corroborate this Party, proved the occasion of its Ruine: I mean, too many People were engag'd in it, and their different Views and Interests hindred them from agreeing one with the other.

The King, or rather the Duke of *Luines*, strangely perplex'd in this Conjuncture, sent a solemn Deputation to the Queen, compos'd of *Du Perron*, the Arch-Bishop of *Sens*, the Duke of *Montbason*, and the President *Jean-nin*, who were follow'd by Father *Berulle*; who was charged with Secret Instructions. But the Queen who

1620. waited till her Party had taken secure Measures, spun out and protracted the Treaty, hoping not to come back to Court, but with the same Authority which she had enjoy'd in her Son's Minority. But it was not so easie a matter for them to agree in their Proposals, and reduce such different Projects to any Uniformity, tho' all of them seem'd to centre in the Duke of *Luines's* expulsion, and consequently the re-establishment of the Queen. In this Exigence the Prince of *Conde* gave the King very seasonable Advice, which was to take the Field as soon as was possible, to attack the principal Male-contents before the rest cou'd come up to relieve them. He declar'd that if this Conduct had been follow'd in the Tumults wherein he was concern'd, he had not been in a Capacity to oppose the Court, whose irresolution gave him time to fortify himself. It was therefore resolv'd to march the Troops of *Champagne* on the side of *Chartres*, under the command of *Bassompierre*; whilst the King went in Person into *Normandy*, against the Duke of *Longueville*.

* July 4.

But before his departure, the Duke of *Luines* judg'd it expedient for the King to * go to the Parliament, to justify his Conduct to them. He declared to them how much it troubled him to see himself constrain'd to act against the Queen his Mother, altho' he desir'd nothing more earnestly than to live with her like an obedient and respectful Son. He added, that since she had put herself at the head of these Male-contents, he was oblig'd to take up Arms to dissipate that Party, and that being inform'd that *Rouen* was in danger, he resolv'd to march that way. He concluded with recommending the repose of the City of *Paris* to their Care, and told them he entirely depended upon their Fidelity and Diligence. The Chief President, and Advocate-General thank'd him for the great Confidence he repos'd in his Parliament, and promis'd to acquit themselves faithfully in what he had desir'd of them; but withal they humbly pray'd him to find out some means to conquer the Malecontents by Clemency, rather than come to an open rupture with his Mother, and the greatest Lords of the Kingdom, and represented to him in a few Words the Calamities that attend a Civil War.

After

After this the King nominated several Generals to oppose the Male-contents in the several Provinces where they were canton'd; and to this end gave necessary Orders to the Governours of the neighbouring Provinces: The Prince of *Conde* was to command in the quality of Lieutenant-General the Army where the King was to be in Person: The Dukes of *Guise* and *L'Escligues* were appointed to oppose in *Provence* and *Dauphiné* the Designs of the Mareschal de *Montmorenci*, Governour of *Languedoc*: The Prince de *Joinville*, and the Mareschal de *Themines* were to make Head against the Dukes of *Mayenne* and *Espernon*: The Duke of *Nevers*, and the Mareschal de *Vitri* had Orders to observe the Marquis de *la Valette*, Governour of *Metz*. Collonel *d'Ornano* was commanded to oppose the Designs of the Mareschal de *Bouillon*. The Count de *Bassompierre* * was to command the Army of *Champagne* in quality of Mareschal de *Camp*. He arriv'd there in *July*, got together the Troops that were there in a Body, and rais'd some new ones at his own Expence, with such diligence, that in the beginning of *August* he joyn'd the King's Army with Eight Thousand Foot, and Six Thousand Horse. He kept that Province in obedience, and hinder'd the Cardinal of *Guise*, who had quitted the King's Service, from causing any Disorders there.

• *Tom. I.*
of his *h. cm.*
p. 467.

In the mean time the King † parted for *Normandy*, † *July 7.* following the Prince of *Conde*'s Advice; although it was generally believ'd the Duke of *Longueville* was very strong in those Parts, and therefore some of the most ancient Ministers endeavour'd to dissuade him from it. He brought along with him his Brother the Duke of *Orleans*, and left the Queen with the Chancellor and some Counsellors of State at *Paris*. His Army consisted of no more than Eight thousand Foot, and Eight hundred Horse, reckoning his Guards in the number, and only carried with him Four Pieces of great Cannon, and Two Field-pieces. All this while the Duke of *Longueville* who was at *Roan*, was so little prepar'd to preserve that important City, that as soon as he receiv'd advice that the King's Army drew near, he went to the Parliament, protesting that he still preserv'd for his Majesty all that Fidelity which he as Subject ow'd his Prince;

1620. and that the only Reason of his withdrawing from Court, proceeded from the Favourites that abus'd the King's Goodness. After this he retir'd to *Diepe*, and the King was receiv'd at *Roan* with great Acclamations. The City of *Caen* immediately declar'd for his Majesty ; and nothing but the Citadel, commanded by one *Prudent*, held out. The *Mareschal de Pralin* went to attack it in the usual Forms ; and after he had made his Approaches pretty near it, he threatned the Captain to hang him and all his Men, if he did not immediately surrender it : But this Summons produc'd no effect ; and they had been oblig'd to have lost several Days before it, if one *Cailletau*, *Valet de Chambre* to the King, had not cry'd out to the Soldiers, that the King would give them Ten thousand Crowns if they would leap down the Walls. The Captain fearing lest his Soldiers should be tempted by this Promise, did not make any farther opposition, but deliver'd the Citadel into the hands of the Besiegers. At the same time the Count *de Marignon*, one of the Malecontents, was gain'd over to the Royal Party by a Patent, to be a *Mareschal of France*, and the Marquis *de Beuvron*, and the Count *de Montgomery*, by Pensions which were promis'd them. Thus in a short time *Normandy* was entirely reduc'd, except *Diepe*, and some other places of small Importance.

The King and his Brother were some Days before the Citadel of *Caen*, where they visited the Trenches more than once, while the Duke of *Luines* and others took such care of their persons as to keep at a distance. This made abundance of people talk suspicious things of the Prince of *Conde's* Conduct, because it was not fit to expose the Lives of these Princes in such a place, since no body would have been a gainer by their Death, but himself alone. But after this good Success, which was the effect of his Advice, no one durst find fault with what he did. From that time he declar'd openly and without reserve, That the Queen-Mother ought to be made incapable of resisting the King's Pleasure for the future ; although this was rather to revenge his own Imprisonment than to secure the Royal Authority. * He pretended there was no regard due to that Prin-

* *Siri Mem.*
Re. T. 5.
p. 129.

Princess, although she was the King's Mother ; and upon this occasion had some Contests with the Cardinal *de Retz*, who was of the contrary opinion. 1620.

After the King had made himself Master of the *Citadel of *Caen*, it was debated whether he should return to *Paris*, or go on as he had begun. The Prince of *Conde* carri'd it in favour of this last Advice ; and now they talk'd of going to *Diepe*, where the Duke of *Longueville* was, or to *Alençon*, a place belonging to the Queen-Mother. *Diepe*, they thought, was too strongly fortified, and mann'd by too numerous a Garrison to be attack'd by so small an Army. By good fortune, while the matter was thus under deliberation, there came a Gentleman of the Duke of *Longueville*, with a Letter from his Master address'd to the King, wherein he declar'd, that he would act nothing against his Service, but that his Enemies were too powerful at Court for him to appear there, as he had been order'd. They took this occasion not to go to *Diepe* ; and the King resolv'd to march streight into *Anjou*, where the Source of all these ill Humours lay. *Alençon*, *Verneuil*, and several other places surrendred without any resistance ; and the King did not condescend to make his entry into them, because he would not retard to no purpose the Progress of his Army. He left the Duke of *Elbeuf* in *Normandy*, lest the Malecontents should raise any new Disturbances there, after the departure of the Royal Army. But as 'twas imagin'd that *Normandy* would have diverted the King's Forces much longer, they were surpriz'd to see him march so suddenly by the side of *Angers*, where they were, not in a condition to defend themselves, though they pretended to be the first that should appear in the Field.

A little before the Army march'd into *Normandy*, the King, as we have already observ'd, made offers of an Accommodation with his Mother ; but after several delays, she refus'd to come to a Treaty, unless all the Lords of her Party were present ; which the King would by no means grant, because he would not seem to capitulate with his own Subjects. Nevertheless a Proposal was made to receive the Countess of *Soissons* into the Conference, where she should represent those that were ab-

1620. sent; but when this Negotiation was on foot, the Queen receiv'd the News that the King's Army was marching into *Normandy*, which made her absolutely reject all manner of Propositions: Only she sent *Blainville* back to the King, to demand a Cessation of Arms for a Month, and that his Majesty would be pleas'd to return to *Paris*; thinking of nothing but how to act upon the defence, till she saw him at the Head of his Army.

The King did not listen to this, but arriv'd at *Mans* on the 30th of *July*; after which he enter'd into *Anjou*. In the mean time the Queen-Mother assembled all the Forces she was able to raise, having already got together Eight thousand Foot, and Fifteen hundred Horse. She expected the Troops which the Count de *St. Aignan* had rais'd on the other side the *Loire* in the Name of the Count de *Soissons*, and those which the Duke of *Rohan* was to bring from *Poitou*. She had fill'd, not only the Citadel of *Angers*, but the City and all places thereabout with Soldiers. For all this it was not believ'd she was safe in this place, and the Duke of *Mayenne* propos'd to her to retire into *Guienne*, where he was at the Head of Eighteen thousand Men. But the Duke of *Espernon*, who was afraid that he would over-top the other Heads of the Party, if he had the Queen once in his Power, hindred her from going thither, by representing to her Majesty, that the Duke of *Mayenne* only labour'd to get her in his Hands, that so he might compound for himself more advantageously at Court at her Expence; that if she abandon'd *Anjou* at the approach of the Royal Army, the Party would lose its Reputation for ever, and that she would see all the Country between the *Loire* and the *Garonne*, which was entirely devoted to her, fall into the Enemies Hands without any one to oppose them; that it was better for her to continue still at *Angers*, and order the Troops of the Duke of *Mayenne* and his own to come thither; which being joyn'd together, wou'd form a Body of twenty five thousand Men, without reckoning those which her Majesty already had; because with such a numerous Army as this was, she would be in a condition to force the Duke of *Luines* to accept her own Terms. This was excellent Advice, and had succeeded in all probability

probability if they had follow'd it; but the Bishop of *Luçon* hindred the Queen from embracing it. She consented, as he had counsell'd her, to tarry at *Angers*, but would not suffer the Dukes of *Mayenne* and *Espernon* to bring their Men thither, under a pretence that she would have them look after their own Governments, which in their absence would be in danger to be lost. But the true Reason of it, as 'tis suppos'd, was this, that the Bishop could by no means endure that Two Persons of their Quality and Experience should be near the Queen, where they would certainly ruin that Reputation he had with her. Though he understood nothing of warlike Affairs, yet so long as there was no General of any Note at *Angers*, he was sure to be the Arbitrator of all that was done; which he could not have pretended to in the least, if two Persons of that Capacity and Experience as the Duke of *Mayenne* and *Espernon* were there. He fear'd, above all things, the free and disinterested Humour of the last, who had, without question, sent him back to his Breviary, if he had presum'd to concern himself with the Deliberations of War in his Presence. Besides he desir'd that none but himself should be employ'd by the Queen-Mother, for this Reason, as People have since believ'd, that if she accommodated Matters, she would not fail to take particular care of him; and that the Duke of *Luines*, who was oblig'd to him for weakning the Queen's Party after this manner, would perhaps make him some acknowledgments. However it was, 'tis certain that by this advice he equally ruin'd the Affairs of the Queen, and of all those Gentlemen that oppos'd the Favourites.

From *Mans* the King advanc'd as far as *La Fleche*, where he stay'd till the fifth of *August*, expecting the Duke of *Bellegarde* Master of the Horse, and some others, whom he had dispatch'd to *Angers* to treat with his Mother. All the difficulty now remaining turn'd upon this Article, that the King refus'd to comprehend in the Treaty all those that had espous'd the Party of the Queen-Mother since the preceding Year 1619. except the Count de *Soissons*, because he was a Prince of the Blood. As for the rest, he expected they should throw them-

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themselves intirely upon his Generosity. This Clause principally affected the Two Brothers of *Vendome*, against whom they had incens'd the King in a most extraordinary manner. On the other hand the Queen-Mother absolutely persisted to have all those that had taken Arms for her be compris'd in the Treaty, because if she abandon'd any one single Person, she would have none to act in her favour upon another occasion, and that she could never have too many Friends at Court where she had such powerful Enemies.

The King, weary of attending the conclusion of the Treaty at *la Fleche*, which every one thought to be as good as concluded, advanc'd on the Evening of the sixth of *August* as far as *Verger*, and appointed the Rendezvous of his Army in the Plain of *Trelaffas*, not far from the Slate-Pits of *Angers*: It consisted of Sixteen thousand Foot, and Three thousand Horse. The Prince of *Conde* was Generalissimo, and the *Mareschal de Pralin* Lieutenant-General. He had under him Three *Mareschals de Camp*, the *Marquis de Trainel*, *Crequi*, *Nerestan*, and the Count *de Bassompierre*. The King had Advice that the Treaty was signed, and expected every Minute to have it brought to him: But those that had the Treaty in their hands did not think fit to leave *Angers* till they had waited upon the Queen the next Morning, being the seventh of *August*, to know if her Majesty had any fresh Instructions to give them.

While the King was thus expecting it, he order'd *Crequi* and *Bassompierre*, by way of Diversion as it were, to advance with the Guards, and the Regiments of *Champagne* and *Picardy*, to a small Village call'd *Sorges*, which is in sight of *Pont du Cé*, and try some Skirmishes with the Queen's Army, to discover their Retrenchments. This discovery might have been useful, in case the Negotiation was broke, and it should be thought convenient to attack that Post. The Troops march'd within sight of *Pont du Cé*, and fell upon Five thousand of the Queen's Men in their Retrenchments, put them in disorder, and enter'd into the Town along with them.

* See the Relation of this Fight in the Memoirs of *Bassompierre*, T. 1. p. 496.

* There was nothing now left but the Castle, which held out a few Hours, and then surrendred to *Crequi*, while *Bassompierre* went to acquaint the King with the News

News of this Victory. The Grand Prior, the Dukes of *Vendome* and *Retz*, and the Vicount *de Belancourt* were in the Castle; but as soon as they saw the Cannon turn'd against them, they fled towards *Angers* in great Precipitation.

The fight still continu'd, when the Duke of *Bellegarde* arriv'd from *Angers* with the Treaty concluded and sign'd; and as he complain'd that they had attack'd the Queen's Forces, after the Conclusion of the Treaty, he was answer'd, that 'twas his own fault, since he ought to have brought it without delay as soon as it was sign'd. The Royalists were glad that he did not come sooner, because this Defeat ruin'd the Queen's Party, and clearly dispirited them. Scarce any of their Heads shew'd either Bravery or Conduct upon this occasion: Among the rest the Duke of *Retz* was particularly blamed, who was the first that fled into the Castle; from whence he retir'd to *Angers*: And when they made a shew of attacking that place, not thinking himself secure enough, he fled with Fifteen hundred Foot to *Beaupreau*, a small Dominion he had within some Leagues of that place. His Uncle, the Cardinal *de Retz*, went thither not long after to bring him to Court, where he was immediately receiv'd into favour, which induc'd people to believe, that the true Reason of this hasty flight, was because he knew the Agreement was made; and that he design'd by this means to purchase the King's Favour.

The next * Day the King entred into *Pont du Cè*, * *August 8.* where he was surpriz'd to find the Shops open, and every thing as quiet as if there had been no Soldiers in the place: This shew'd that the People did not much concern themselves in these Quarrels, which solely proceeded from the King's Weakness, who could not distinguish between good and bad Counsels, and whom all the Grandees thought they had a right to govern. In the mean time the Queen was so terribly alarm'd at this defeat, that whereas before she would scarce accept of the most advantageous Conditions, now she thought it her Interest to comply with the King in whatever he desired. Nevertheless the King sent her Word, that she might ask for her self what she pleas'd, and that she should

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should be received at Court with open Arms ; but as for those that had taken up Arms for her, he pretended to make them know that he was their Master. Thus on the 9th. the Archbishop of *Sens*, the Master of the Horse, and Father *Berulle*, came to *Pont du Ce*, with the Cardinal de *Sourdis*, and the Bishop of *Luçon*, Deputies for the Queen, to know his Majesty's Pleasure. He granted an Amnesty to all such as laid down their Arms within eighty Days, and return'd to their Duty ; but he would by no means restore those who had been of the Queen's Party to their Offices, which were taken from them during the War, and conferr'd upon others. He likewise confirm'd the Treaty of *Angouleme*, which I have already mention'd, and set the Prisoners of War at liberty, in favour of his Mother who desir'd it. There were some secret Articles, one of which was, That the King should demand a Cardinal's Cap of the Pope for the Bishop of *Luçon*, after he had obtain'd one for the Archbishop of *Toulouse*. And now when People saw the whole Body of the Malecontents ruin'd by the Advice of the former, the Queen oblig'd to return to Court, several Princes and Great Lords excluded out of the Treaty, or at least no Gainers by it, and only the Bishop of *Luçon*, who had tricked both Parties, distinguish'd from the rest of the Clergy, by the Promise of a Cardinal's Cap, they no longer doubted but that he had betray'd the Queen, who had been so wonderfully kind to him, to gain the Favour of the Duke of *Luines*. The King, the Prince of *Conde*, the Duke of *Luines*, and all the Court, receiv'd him with great Respect ; because that if he had formerly hinder'd the Queen's return, yet he had afterwards made them amends, by reducing her to such Extremities, that she was forced to buy her Reconciliation at any rate. All this while the poor Queen was not in the least aware of his Treachery ; she procur'd him a Cardinal's Cap, and admission into the Privy-Council, which were the Two things he chiefly aim'd at, and look'd upon him to be the best Friend she had, till he persecuted her after the most unworthy manner in the World. She express'd a great deal of Joy at the Marriage between the Daughter of the *Sieur de Pont-Courlai*, the Bishop's Niece, and the *Marquis de Cambalet*, Son to the Duke
of

of *Luines's* Sister ; which ought to have open'd her eyes, and convinc'd her that this Prelate kept a stricter Correspondence with her Enemies than she imagin'd. Nay, she promised to give his Niece Two hundred thousand Livres for her Portion. By this instance we find that Observation made good, That Princes are generally so blinded in regard of their Favourites, that they are the last that perceive they are betray'd by them, and commonly when 'tis too late to preserve themselves from the Effects of their Treachery.

The Treaty being thus concluded, the King came to *Brissac*, and the Queen-Mother hastened thither from * *Angers*. His Majesty sent the *Mareschal de Praslin* to receive her about the mid-way between *Pont du Cé* and *Brissac*; and went himself, with the Prince of *Conde* and *Luines*, to meet her some five hundred paces from *Brissac*. As soon as he saw her Litter, he alighted from his Horse, and the Queen came out of her Litter: They embraced one another with a great deal of Tenderneſs in all appearance; and the King told her in a jeaſting way, that she should never escape out of his hands any more. The Queen replied, That it had been no difficult matter for him to have had her always about him, could she have hoped to be treated after such a manner, as a Son ought to treat his Mother. After this, she receiv'd the Prince of *Conde* with great Civility, and the Prince on his part paid her all the Respect that was due to her Character. When these Formalities were over, the Queen went to *Chinon*, and the King towards *Poitiers*, where he arrived on the Twentieth of this Month.

The Duke of *Luines* had earnestly desir'd this Agreement; because he began to fear, that if he any longer drew the Hatred of the most powerful and eminent Persons of the Kingdom upon him, they would find out a way of accommodating Matters with the King, by serving him as they had done the *Marquis d'Ancre*, since he alone had occasion'd all these Disorders, and was as crying a Grievance as the unfortunate *Concini*. The Prince of *Condé* had abundantly satisfied his Vengeance, by doing the Queen all the Mischief he could; and his Advices happen'd to have such good success, that the King

1619. King repos'd an extraordinary Confidence in him: But finding she was now to live with her Son afresh, he endeavour'd as well as *Luines* to gain her Good-will, by perswading his Majesty to grant her all that she asked of him. Both of 'em seem to have join'd the Bishop of *Luçon* in their Interests by the Promise which they had engag'd the King to make him; and the Bishop had still so great a Reputation with the Queen, that they were in hopes they had nothing to fear from that Quarter.

The Court sent the Duke of *Bellegarde* to the Duke of *Espernon*, as being his Cousin, to discourse him as from himself, and engage him to lay down his Arms. The Prince of *Condé* likewise pray'd the Archbishop of *Sens*, who was a particular Friend of *Espernon*, to talk with him in his Name. *Luines* offer'd very advantageous Conditions to him, viz. to bestow one of his Nieces upon his Son the Marquis de *la Valette*, with a present of Two hundred thousand Crowns which the King would give her; to make him both a Duke and a Peer, by erecting *la Valette* into a Dutchy and Peerdom; to give the Son of *Espernon* the Survivorship of his Father's Offices, besides the Promise of a Cardinal's Cap to the Archbishop of *Toulouse*; to give a Gratuity in Money to the Captains of the Guards who had follow'd him to *Metz*, in consideration that their Companies were taken from them; and lastly, out of respect to him to grant several other remarkable Favours. As for the Duke of *Miyenne*, they promised him the Government of *Bearn*, which they design'd to take away from the Count de *la Force*, a *Hugonot*, who at that time enjoy'd it. Nevertheless, he was still of the Opinion not to lay down Arms, till the Duke of *Luines* was ruin'd; and had certainly persisted in it, if after he had sent to the Duke of *Espernon* to know his Resolutions, he had not found them to be quite different from his. The latter having only taken up Arms to serve the Queen-Mother, now she had concluded a Treaty with her Son, thought it his wisest course to make his Peace in time; and the Duke of *Miyenne* came at last to be perswaded, that it was his Interest so to do, and not pretend to oppose the King's Forces by himself, who would infallibly over-power him. Thus this formidable Tempest, which seem'd to threaten

threaten the Duke of *Luines* so severely, and which one would have thought 'twas impossible to dissipate without shedding a world of Blood, was entirely dispers'd, by the ill success of one inconsiderable Skirmish.

Soon after this, the Queen and Bishop of *Luçon* sent an Express to *Rome*, to inform the Pope of what had past, and at the same time to demand a Cardinal's Cap: However, he durst not ask to have the First Promotion made in his Favour, because it had been expressly demanded for the Archbishop of *Toulouse*. In the mean time, those very Persons who in appearance had cheerfully promis'd to contribute all their Assistance towards the Bishop's Elevation, were now grown cold in the Business. The Prince of *Conde* was not so heartily reconcil'd to the Queen-Mother, as to love her Creatures, and rejoice at their Preferment. The Chancellor, the Keeper of the Seals, and the Marquis de *Puyfieux*, were far from wishing well to the Bishop; and besides, were afraid of his readmission into the Council, from whence he had been expell'd by force: And as for the Duke of *Luines*, though he was shortly to be allied to him, yet he apprehended the preferring so intriguing and ambitious a Man as this Prelate was.

This was the reason why the Court did not sollicite at *Rome* to get a Cardinal's Cap for him with that vigour as they had formerly done. Nay, *Luines* made no scruple to acquaint *Bentivoglio* the Nuncio with the Mystery of this Secret, that so the Court of *Rome* might be undeceived, and not believe that the King did earnestly desire it. He assur'd him, That his Majesty had been oblig'd to name the Bishop of *Luçon* for a Cardinal, out of pure complaisance to the Queen his Mother, altho' he did not in the least desire the Pope to take any notice of it: That it was only for a show, that they had order'd the Marquis de *Cauvres*, Ambassador at *Rome*, to move in this Affair; and that the true reason why they did not communicate this Secret to him, was to carry on the Sham the better: That the King had dispatch'd an Agent to oppose it in private, because he look'd upon it to be a reflection on his Honour, to buy the Peace he had made with his Mother, of the Bishop of *Luçon*, by raising him to the Purple; besides, that he had

1620. had several other Reasons not to love him. The Duke of *Luines* and *Puyfieux* earnestly desir'd the Nuncio to hold his tongue upon this occasion, and to see that the matter should not take air at *Rome*; because if either the Queen or the Bishop of *Luçon* should ever arrive to the knowledge of it, it might occasion great Disorders, not only at Court, but all over the Kingdom, this Prelate being absolute Master of the Queen's Inclinations, and having been in a great measure the cause of all those Troubles that were solately concluded. To this *Puyfieux* added, That although his Majesty had a right to demand two Caps, yet at present he would be content with one; and that let the Ambassadour say what he would, they should not regard it: That the reason why they conceal'd all this from him, was, because his nearest Relations had been engaged in the Queen-Mother's Party. However, says *Puyfieux* to the Nuncio, the King would not be so misunderstood, as if he design'd to have his Ambassadour be ever the less respected in the other Functions of his Place, since this was a particular Article by it self, to which the rest had no manner of relation.

Not long after this happen'd, the Bishop of *Luçon* sent an Ecclesiastick to *Rome*, and the Ministers, the better to impose upon this Prelate, gave him Letters of Recommendation to the Ambassadour. The Queen prest this Affair very warmly to the Nuncio; who answer'd her, That as *France* might pretend to one Cap with a great deal of probability of obtaining it; so he very much question'd whether the Pope would grant two; nevertheless, he promised to write to *Rome* about it, as her Majesty desired him.

The Reconciliation of the Duke of *Espernon* was as good as effected; and the Duke of *-Luines* seem'd extremely desirous of that Alliance which he had propos'd to him: All the rest of the Faction was dispers'd; nor indeed was there any tolerable Agreement between those who had appear'd the most zealous for the support of that Party; only the Count of *Soissons* threatned to throw himself among the *Hugonots*, in case they pushed Matters too far; and the Duke of *Mayenne*, out of fear of losing his Government, talked after the same manner:

But

But this was soon over, and they submitted themselves to his Majesty's Generosity. On the 27th of *August* a Declaration of his Majesty was confirm'd in Parliament, by which the Queen-Mother was declared innocent.

About this time the Nuncio used all his Interest to engage the Duke of *Luines*, to turn his Arms against the *Hugonots*; and though this Minister seem'd to disapprove of it, yet there were so many Persons at Court that back'd this Demand, that it was resolv'd from that very Year to begin to strike at the whole Body; which was accordingly executed, as we shall find in the Series of this History. Some fresh Conversation happen'd about the Promotion of the Bishop of *Luçon*, when *Luines* repeated the same things to the Nuncio; adding, That if this Prelate were once made a Cardinal, it was to be fear'd he would make no other use of this new Dignity, than to cabal more successfully for the Queen-Mother, and highly complain'd of his Ingratitude: He had deliver'd him, as he said, from danger of his Life, when the Marechal *d'Ancre* was kill'd; he had sent for him to wait upon the Queen; he had caus'd him to be re-call'd from *Avignon*, and placed him the second time near the Person of that Princess; and yet all the return he made him for these Kindnesses, was to be one of the forwardest to conspire his Destruction. In short, he told him that his Majesty resolv'd to see how he carried himself before he stirr'd for him: That as for himself, he should be glad to see the Fruits of the Alliance he was going to contract with him; and lastly, that several Years hence it would be soon enough to promote him to that Dignity.

The King being at **Poitiers*, and the Prince of *Condé* ^{* Septem. 2.} having return'd thither, a Council was held concerning the Re-establishment of the Catholick Religion in *Beaun*; and after some debate, it was carried in the Affirmative. Two days after, the Duke of *Mayenne* arriv'd there to pay his Obedience to the King, by whom he was receiv'd very coldly. At last the King ^{* Septem. 2.} parted for *Guillem*, and upon the way the Duke of *Espernon* was presented to him by the Duke of *Bellegarde*, and was much better entertain'd by him than the Duke of *Mayenne* had been.

1620. because he had shewn a greater willingness to lay down his Arms, and had written to the former, *That the shortest Follies are the best.* The King likewise took away the Government of *Blaye* from the Count d'*Aubeterre*; but then to comfort him, he made him *Mareschal of France.*

The Court dispatch'd a Messenger soon after to *Bearn*, to tell the Governour of that Province, and the Parliament of *Pau*, That the King's Pleasure was, that the *Roman Catholick Religion* should be set up again in *Bearn*, and that the Church-men should be restor'd to their ancient Possessions*. The King's Commissioners soon return'd with the News that his Majesty should be obey'd; which was confirm'd by the Deputies of *Bearn*, who arrived a few days after at *Bordeaux*. But the King told them his meaning was, that his Declaration for the Re-establishment of the Catholick Religion in *Bearn*, should be confirm'd in the Parliament of *Pau*, and perform'd before his return to *Paris*. The Deputies, follow'd by the *Marquis de la Force*, and the Chief President of *Pau*, made their appearance at Court; but did not bring with them the Confirmation which the King demanded. Upon this, his Majesty, without farther delay, order'd his Army to advance towards *Bearn*, and marched thither himself. He met no manner of resistance there; so that he caused his Declaration to be register'd, and Mass to be said where he pleased. 'Twas observable, that it was celebrated on the 19th. of *October* at *Navarrin*, which was the very same Day on which *Queen Joan of Navarre* had Fifty Years ago suppress'd it. What was farther to be remark'd, is, That there were no Catholicks to hear it, but only such as the King had brought along with him; because in so long an interval, that Race was quite extinguish'd in this Country. So that it may truly be said, That the King establish'd the Catholick Religion for the use of the Church-Walls, and not the People of *Bearn*.

* *Oct. 25.* The King return'd to *Bordeaux* the * same Month, and dispatch'd an Express into *Spain*, to give Advice at *Madrid* of what had happen'd, lest any Offence should be taken at their leaving some Troops upon the Frontier, to prevent the Disorders which the Re-establishment of the

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
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the Catholick Religion in *Bearn* might probably occasion, Another Express was sent to *Rome*, to acquaint the Pope with these Occurrences, but especially to press the Promotion which had been demanded of him. The Queen-Mother came first to *Paris*, where the King also arriv'd at the beginning of the following * Month; but the News of his coming was not known, till he was at the Gates of the *Louvre*.

* *Novemb. 71*

The Bishop of *Luçon* sent for his Niece to come to Court, who was promised to *Combalet*, Nephew to the Duke of *Luines*, to conclude the Marriage there. The Duke of *Luines*, who did not think it was now his Interest to unite himself to the Bishop by this Alliance, went to the Queen to know whether she desired it, being resolved to break off the Match, in case her Majesty disapproved of it. But the Queen so positively assured him, that it was necessary for himself to be more closely linked with the Bishop of *Luçon*, that the Duke was sensible he could not start back from it. Thus, on the 26th. of *November*, the Cardinal de la *Roche-foucault* married the Marquiss de *Cambalet*, to Mademoiselle de *Pont Courlay*, in the Queen-Mother's Chamber, in presence of the King, Queen, Princes, Princesses, and several other Persons of the highest Quality at Court. Besides the Portion already mentioned, the Queen bestow'd on the new-married Bride above the value of Twelve thousand Crowns in Jewels and other things; which Liberality the Bishop of *Luçon* and his Relations very sorrowfully requited afterwards.

As soon as this Marriage was concluded, the Duke of *Luines* alter'd his Measures, and press'd the Bishop of *Luçon*'s Promotion at *Rome*, with as much earnestness as he had oppos'd it before. The Court of *France* now demanded two Caps; one for the Archbishop of *Toulouse*, and the other for the Bishop of *Luçon*: But for fear the Pope should make the First Promotion, and take no notice of the latter, the Queen dispatch'd a Courier expressly to *Rome*, with so much precipitation, that she would not stay for Letters of Recommendation from *Bentivoglio* the Nuncio, to Cardinal *Borghese*, though she had earnestly desir'd them. The Duke of *Luines* also to press this affair, writ to *Marillac* the King's Agent, to act chiefly in

1620.  favour of the Bishop of *Luçon*. As it was altogether necessary for the Duke to have the Queen-Mother his Friend, he every day united himself more strictly to her Favourite; who being supported by that Princess's Authority, solicited his own Elevation to the Purple, with that Zeal and Application, that one might very well see he would never be at ease, till he had receiv'd satisfaction in this point. The Queen-Mother spoke about it to the Nuncio as often as she saw him; and the Marquis de *Cauvres*, who knew nothing of this alteration in the Duke of *Luynes's* Opinion, but had all along solicited heartily for the Bishop, urged it now more than ever, thinking the Pope would certainly make a Promotion before *Christmas*: Which however did not fall out according to his expectation, because his Holiness found it convenient to defer this matter a few days longer. The more the Pope retarded it, the more did the Bishop's Hopes encrease, because the Queen-Mother had more time to set all Wheels a-going, that might procure him this Cap he so passionately desired. However, the Ministers, but especially *Purseux*, only serv'd him by halves; and Father *Arnoux* endeavour'd to possess the King with a Scruple upon this score, as if it were a sin to reward the Instrument of all the past Commotions. But the Authority of the Queen-Mother, and that of her Favourite, carried it in spite of the Confessor and all the Council.

1621.  Thus the Ambassadour at *Rome* frequently receiv'd new Orders to recommend this Affair to the Pope and the Cardinal-Patron, who having in the interim been, as 'tis commonly reported, advertis'd by *Bentivoglio*, That his Majesty did only outwardly seem to countenance the matter, which was kept as a Secret from the Ambassadour, return'd him no positive Answer. The Pope pretended, that having no more than Ten Caps to bestow, he could not grant Two of them to *France*, as he would have done in case there had been Eighteen Vacancies, although he had a great Inclination to give all manner of Satisfaction to that Crown. Cardinal *Borghese* very well propos'd to make a Promotion of Ten Cardinals, and to give one of the two next Caps that fell, to the Bishop of *Luçon*. But this Proposition was rejected by the Pope, and

and the Cardinal-Patron grew colder every day. The Ambassadour perceiving this, could not forbear to testify his Resentments, and openly protested, that his Master would use all the means he had in his hands to revenge this Refusal. However, before he came to a publick Rupture, he sent word to the Cardinal-Patron, That the King having for so long a time made so many repeated Instances to the Pope, to grant him what he demanded, he was engaged in Honour to obtain it; and that if he were denied, he would not fail to shew his Displeasure, by something that should mortifie the Court of Rome. The Marquis de *Cœuvres* demanded to have Audience of the Pope, to make his last Efforts upon his Holiness. Having * obtain'd it, he began to sound the Pope's Inclinations, whom he found more resolute than ever to refuse him the Two Caps, and the Promotion of the Bishop of *Luçon*, without being able to bring him to any Temperament to satisfy the Crown of France. At last he thought himself oblig'd to leave in the hands of his Holiness a * Writing, compos'd in the form of a Letter, wherein he had made an Abridgement of all that had happen'd during the course of this Sollicitation, what Answers he had receiv'd, and what Replies he had made to them. The Pope ask'd him whether there was any thing in it injurious to his Person: And the Ambassadour answer'd him, That without waiting for the permission of the King his Master, he would submit himself to the Justice of his Holiness, if he found the least offensive Term in it. Hereupon the Pope enquir'd of him how he came to speak with so much Concern for the Bishop of *Luçon*? *Cœuvres* frankly told him, That he had express Orders for so doing; and for a proof of what he attested, took out of his Pocket a Letter from the Duke of *Luines*, wherein he inform'd him, that the Bishop of *Luçon* having contributed more than any one to the good Intelligence between the King and the Queen his Mother; and that having besides contracted an Alliance with him by the Marriage of his Niece, he found himself oblig'd to intreat him to employ all imaginable means to obtain a Cardinal's Cap for that Bishop; nay, to hinder the Archbishop of *Toulouse* from being promoted without him. To this the Pope replied, that he

* Jan. 10.

* See it in
Siri, Mém.
Rec. T. 5.
p. 243.

1621. had a Letter under the King's own Hand, which directly oppos'd the preferment of this Prelate. At these Words the Ambassadour was struck dumb, and was enraged to the highest degree at this Usage, and at the little Confidence the King and his Favourite repos'd in him. He could not forbear to discover part of his Resentments to his Holiness, because he did not acquaint him with this Mystery before, which had saved him a great deal of unnecessary trouble. He likewise complain'd mightily of the Court, and of the affront which had been put upon him; and desired the King to re-call him from a place where he could not continue any longer with Honour. But outwardly he observ'd the same Conduct, and daily prest for the Bishop, though without any hopes; because this Prelate could not be promoted, without excluding *Stephen Pignatelli*, a great Favourite of Cardinal *Borghese*, for being the * Minister of his unlawful Pleasures, as it was commonly said in *Rome*: In that Writing of this Ambassadour, he is represented as a Man extremely scandalous, even in a place where one must commit very great Disorders to make the People exclaim against him, who are accustomed to have a greater Indulgence to Churchmen, than in other places. However, the Pope held a Consistory * the next day, and fill'd the Ten vacant Places in favour of *Cennino* Bishop of *Amelia*, Nuncio in *Spain*, of *Lewis de la Valette* Archbishop of *Toulouse*, of *Guy Bentivoglio* Nuncio in *France*, of *Peter Valliere* Archbishop of *Candia*, of *Frederick* Count de *Zolleren*, Provost of the Chapter of *Cologne*, of *Julius Roma* Governour of *Rome*, of *Cesar Gherardo* Referendary, of *Didier Scuglia* a Dominican of *Cremona*, of *Stephen Pignatelli* Apostolical Protonotary, and of *Augustin Spinola*, Son to the famous *Ambrose Spinola*. This Election being published, the Ambassadour of the most Christian King made no rejoycing, as is usual upon these occasions; and the Cardinals *Farnese*, *Montalto*, and *Bellarmino*, did the same, because *Pignatelli* was in the number of the promoted. Nay, 'tis said that the noise which this occasion'd in *Rome*, coming to the Pope's ears, he took it so much to heart, that he died on the 28th. of *January*.

* *Seri*, *ibid*.
p. 243.

Jan. 11.

The King having received the News of the above-mention'd Promotion, it was thought more convenient to make the best Advantage of the present Conjunction, than to shew too much Resentment, since at last the Pope had done nothing, but what was conformable to the first Orders of his Majesty. However, he took occasion to complain of this Procedure to Cardinal *Bentivoglio*, at the next Audience he gave him.

Cardinal *Ludovisio* succeeded *Paul V.* having been elected twelve * days after, and took the Name of *Gregory XV.* This caused some alteration in the Instances which the Court made for the Bishop of *Luçon*; however, this Disappointment did not much dishearten him, and he was promised to be considered in the first Promotion.

Towards the beginning of *April*, the Duke of *Luines* was declared Constable of *France*, and the * King perform'd the Ceremony with great Solemnity, without minding the Murmurs of the Court, who were disgusted to see the Constable's Sword in the hands of one who understood nothing at all of War. The Duke of *Lefdigueres* had been made to expect it, at the time when it was fear'd he would appear at the head of the *Hugonots*; but the Duke of *Luines* having begged it for himself, *Lefdigueres* was forc'd to sit down content with a Patent for being a Marechal of *France*. Nevertheless, he was order'd to come to *Paris*, where he had the Title given him of *Mestre de Camp General* of the King's Armies; by virtue of which, he was as it were a Lieutenant to the Constable.

About the same time the Court received Advice of the Insurrection of the People of *Bearn*, who were not able to suffer any longer the re-establishment of the Catholick Religion in their Country, occasion'd by the Indiscretion of the Missionaries, and the Catholicks that were left behind there. It was resolv'd to set all things in order with all possible speed; and pursuant to *Bissompier's* Counsel, this Commission was given to the Duke of *Espernon*, who had a natural Aversion to the *Hugonots*, and besides, was glad of so fair an Opportunity to signalize his Fidelity, which was suspected by reason of the Services he had done the Queen-Mother. As soon as ever

1621. he had receiv'd the King's Orders, he us'd so much diligence, that he had gotten a considerable body of Men together, whom he had rais'd at his own Expence, or whom the respect they had for his Person, had engag'd to follow him in this Enterprize, before the Marquis de la Force was in a condition to defend himself. Having thus entred *Bearn*, instead of meeting any Opposition, he found that upon the Report of his coming thither, they had abandon'd all their Towns and Villages, and fled to the Mountains. The City of *Orthes*, which was fortified by a good Castle, open'd their Gates immediately to him, without so much as staying till the Cannon were brought against them. *Oleron* did the same; and the Marquis de la Force was oblig'd to quit the Province, lest he should fall into the Hands of the Duke of *Espernon*. Thus *Bearn* was reduc'd without any Effusion of Blood, and the Duke ordering his Army to observe an exact Discipline, those that had retir'd into the Woods and Mountains, came back again to their Houses.

The Proceedings of the last Year, and this in *Bearn*, had extreamly alarm'd the *Hugonots*; and as their Churches had been burnt at *Tours*, *Poitiers*, and other places, by the Mob who were incens'd against them, they began to understand that a Design was form'd to divest them of those Priviledges which they enjoy'd by the Edict of *Nantes*. In short, if such a Resolution as this was not taken; yet 'tis evident by what follows, that the Court did not think themselves at all oblig'd to keep their Word with them, and that the Declarations which were frequently publish'd in their Favour, only proceeded from the Fears they were in of raising a Civil War, and not at all from any Principle of Equity. The King, who was extreamly devout, rather through a weakness of Mind than solid Knowledge, had no more Religion than was just put into his Head, nor no more Justice and Clemency than those that were near his Person thought it requisite to let him have: Thus his Confessor and the Ecclesiasticks about him did easily persuade him to do what they would have him, but especially against the Hereticks. The *Hugonots*, who were soon sensible of this, thought themselves oblig'd to use all necessary Precautions that the Enemy might

might not surprize them at a disadvantage, when they were not upon their guard ; and as all their Strength wholly consisted in their being united, they summon'd a general Assembly to meet on the 20th of *November 1620.* to agree about what was to be done, in case they were attack'd. The King condemn'd this Assembly, and order'd them to break up ; but they did not think fit to obey the Royal Mandate. They made some other private regulations ; but all their Measures, which only tended to preserve their own Priviledges, were interpreted to be Overt Acts of Rebellion ; so that now 'twas openly attempted to ruin them, though at the same time they protested that they would religiously observe the Edict of *Nantz*. I will not enter into the particulars of these Broils, in which the Bishop of *Luçon* had no concern at that time, although a final stop was put to them under his Ministry : It will be sufficient to describe, in a few Words, the Progress which the Court made against the Malecontents, because it was upon this Foundation that the Bishop of *Luçon* acted against the *Hugonots*, when he was chief Minister of State. The Edict of *Nantz* had granted to them a considerable number of Cities of Security, where they were tolerated to have Governours of their own Religion, and these Cities were as it were Pledges for the Promise that was made them, to observe the Edict inviolably. Now as they plainly saw that it was daily infring'd ; and that whatever the Court alledged to the contrary, that they were searching means to wrest these Places out of their Hands, in order to treat them afterwards at discretion, they resolv'd to defend themselves vigorously, and to retaliate upon the Catholicks for the Insolences they had sustain'd from them. The better to effect this, they were in readiness almost in all places to take up Arms, and did not fail to revenge themselves to the utmost for Injuries receiv'd.

This was sufficient to put the Court upon a Resolution to employ open Force, to turn them out of these strong Holds, under pretence of Rebellion. After several Advances, which I shall not stay to mention here, the King being at *Saumur*, was inform'd that the Duke of *Rohan*, who was one of the principal Heads of the *Hugonots*,

1621. *Hugonots*, and who was afterwards declar'd General of all their Forces, caus'd some new Fortifications to be made at *St. Jean d'Angely*, a City of *Sainonge*, which was one of their places of Security. He immediately sent Orders to him to leave off, and to come to him, with *Soubise* his Brother. But the Duke of *Roban* refus'd to obey this Command, considering what he had so lately done; so the King resolv'd to open the Campaign with the Siege of this Place. The Duke of *Roban* had put three thousand Men in Garrison, and left his Brother to command in the place, with the Advice of an experienc'd Soldier, whose Name was *Hause Fontaine*. He had sufficiently provided it with all manner of Stores, both of Provision and Ammunition; so that it held out longer than was expected. It was invested on the 18th of *May*, by some Troops which the King had left in *Poitou*, at his return from *Bearn*. The King appear'd in Person before it, with his whole Army, commanded, under his Orders, by the *Marschal de Lesdigueres*, and by the Duke of *Espernon*, who receiv'd his Orders from none but the King; his Son, the *Marquis de la Valette*, performing the Function of Colonel of the *French Infantry*, that so his Father, to whom that Post belong'd, might not be oblig'd to obey the Duke of *Lesdigueres* in that quality. However the place held out till the 16th of *June*, and then surrendred upon condition that the King should pardon all those that were in the place, leaving them at liberty, and in possession of their Estates and Priviledges, granted to the *Hugonots* by the Edict of *Nantz*. There was not a House left entire in the whole City, the Cannon having either destroy'd or endamag'd them all; and, to compleat its Misfortunes, the King condemn'd the place to be dismantled.

After this, the Royal Army reduc'd several small Places, either by Terror, as *St. Foi*, and *Bergerac*, or else by Force, as *Clerac*; while the Prince of *Conde* made the same Progress in *Berry*, and along the *Loire*; and the Duke of *Mayenne* acted the same in *High Guienne*. But the most memorable Siege was that of *Montauban*. This City was invested on the 17th of *August*, and the King appear'd in Person before it the same day. The *Constable de Luines* commanded the Army, and had for his
Lieut.

Lieutenant-Generals his Brothers, and the Dukes of *Mayenne*, *Chevreuse*, and *Lesdigueres*. The Count de *Schomberg*, Superintendent of the Finances, was Grand Master of the Artillery, and besides perform'd the Office of a Lieutenant-General. Three Attacks were made, the first of which was that of the King, commanded by the Constable and his Brothers; the second that of the Duke of *Mayenne*; the third that of *Chevreuse* and *Lesdigueres*. The place was attack'd with the greatest Vigour imaginable; but it was as well defended by the Marquis de *la Force*, and by the Count d'*Orval*, Son to the Duke of *Sully*, who commanded there with a good Garrison, assisted by the Burghers, who shew'd no less Bravery upon this occasion than the Soldiers. * In fine, after the greatest part of the Outworks was taken, and a considerable Breach made in a Bastion, which was the weakest place, it was resolv'd to give an Assault, upon the Success of which depended the taking of the place. † But before-hand they judg'd it convenient to view it by an Officer, who mounting the Breach, saw on the other side of it a very large Retrenchment, wherein was a Battallion of about two thousand Men, ready to receive the Besiegers, in case they made an Assault. This News being brought them by the Officer, who escap'd, as it were, by Miracle, through all their Firing, hindred them from pursuing their Design, wherein they most certainly had lost abundance of Men. The Duke of *Rohan*, who kept the Field with a small Body of Men, put some Relief into the place, under the Conduct of one *Beaufort*; and this, together with the frequent Sal- lies of the Enemy, and the continual Losses they sustain'd, made them resolve to raise the Siege, which they accordingly did on the first Day of *November*. Orders were given in all the Quarters, that at the first discharge of a Cannon they heard that Night, every one should put himself in Arms, to march where he was commanded, and that before they parted they should make great Fires on all sides. When this was put in Execution, the Besieged expected they would give a general Assault, so that they contented themselves to guard their respective Posts, while the King's Army dislodged, without falling upon their Rear.

* See the Memoirs of Bassompierre, T. 2. Those of Ponté, T. 1. and the Rebellion of France, T. 1. † Ponté, T. 2. p. 133.

After

1621.

After this manner the Siege was rais'd, in which they lost a great number of brave Soldiers, and persons of Quality, among whom was the Duke of Mayenne, who was kill'd with a Musquet-Shot which he receiv'd in his Eye. It is not known to what the ill Success of this Siege is to be attributed, where the King in Person was attended by the most experienc'd Generals, and the best appointed Troops of his Kingdom, that did not seem to want any thing. For although 'tis certain that the Besieg'd behav'd themselves with all the Gallantry imaginable, yet in all Appearance, since they did not spare their Men upon this occasion, they must unquestionably have carried the Place, which after all was not regularly fortified. Most People ascribe it to the Constable of Luines, who was not in truth fitted for Military Performances, but then had some of the most excellent Officers of that Age under his Command. He is accus'd of minding nothing else but how to enrich himself, and advance his Creatures, without doing any Service to the State. * These Reproaches with which

* Mem. de Bassomp. T.2. P.117. he was justly charg'd, and the concern he took for raising the Siege of Montauban, threw him into a Purple Fever, of which he died on the 14th of December, three Days after the Royal Army had taken a small City of Guienne, call'd Monburt. The King, who began to be disgusted with him, did not seem to be much concern'd at his Death, and after he had given necessary Orders in the Province, to frustrate the Attempts of the Hugonots, he return'd to Paris.

1622.

All the Winter was spent in thinking of Ways and Means to continue the War against the Hugonots, which all the bigotted Catholicks, or such as pretended to be so, advis'd the King to carry on, without giving himself any trouble for the Welfare of the State, that rather requir'd a Peace than a continuation of the War, which carried off infinite numbers of Men, in almost all the Provinces of the Kingdom. The Prince of Conde was one of those that declaim'd most zealously against the Hugonots, though it is hard to divine the true Motives of this Indignation. Hitherto he had not given Proofs of so great a Devotion, as to induce People to believe that it was his Zeal for Religion that put him upon

upon it. Neither did his Experience, Courage, and Conduct in War, as 'tis imagin'd, engage him in this Affair, since he did not possess those Qualities in a very eminent Degree, considering what others he had to recommend him. And then as for the repose of the Kingdom, the frequent Commotions he rais'd will not suffer us to believe that he set that very much to Heart. * A certain person, in whom he repos'd an extraordinary confidence, told a Prelate, that it was foretold to this Prince, That at the Age of Thirty four Years he should be King of *France*; and that being then Thirty three Years old, he was glad to see himself at the Head of an Army, to be in a better condition to support his Right, till the fatal time arriv'd of his being crown'd. Upon a like Prediction, he had formerly taken up Arms, under the Regence of the Queen-Mother; and 'tis not improbable but that he relaps'd into the same Weakness: Those that can suffer themselves to be possess'd with such Chimera's, being subject to commit the same Fault often. However it was, the Duke of *Orleans*, only Brother to the King, having been at Death's Door the Year before, which the King too did not pass without a Fit of Sickness, the Prince fancied he ought always to be in a readiness to take the Crown, if these Two Princes happen'd to die. Nay, 'tis said, that he design'd to expose them in this War, that so the Crown might come the sooner to him.

1622.

* *Siri Mem.*
Recond. T. 5.
P. 404.

The Queen-Mother was not as yet readmitted into the Council since her return to Court; for the King was apprehensive, that if once he gave her footing there, he must share his Authority with her; which he firmly resolv'd to part with none but his Favourites that always manag'd him. Nevertheless, upon the Advice of his Ministers, he at last granted this Satisfaction to his Mother, lest she should underhand cross the Designs of the Court, in case they continu'd to refuse her a thing which she so passionately desir'd. Besides this might serve to counterpoise the Authority of the Prince of *Conde*, who would become too powerful if the King continu'd without a Favourite that would concern himself with Affairs of State. Thus his Majesty consented that the Queen-Mother should have admission into the Council, but
would

1621. would not suffer the Bishop of *Luçon* to bear her Company thither, because he saw the Ministers were resolv'd to oppose the Pretensions of this Prelate, whose ambitious and meddling Humour they fear'd. The Queen seem'd to be extremely satisfied with the Honour her Son had done her, hoping, that when once she had got admission into the Council, she might be able in time to introduce whom she pleas'd, and particularly the Bishop of *Luçon*; for whose Preferment she testified upon all occasions a most extraordinary Zeal. After the Death of the Constable *de Luines*, no body had press'd the Promotion of this Prelate at *Rome*, because neither the King, nor his Ministers desir'd it in the least, unless the Queen-Mother had taken care to importune all the World upon his Score. She writ several times to the Pope and his Nephew about it, and was continually speaking of it to the Nuncio, the King, and the Ministers. However, the King, who was naturally distrustful, and had long ago imbib'd a deep Prejudice against the Bishop of *Luçon*, reassum'd his old Conduct, and told the Nuncio *Corfini*, that although he still continu'd to demand the Promotion of this Prelate, yet he should not be sorry if they took no notice of this demand at *Rome*, provided the Pope did not bestow this Cap upon any Enemy of *France*. To the end that this Secret might not take vent, it was concluded, that the Commandeur *de Silery*, who succeeded the Marquis *de Cœuvres*, as Ambassador at *Rome*, should know nothing of the matter; and that when the Promotion was over, out of which the Bishop was to be excluded, the King should pretend to be offended at it, and write to his Ambassador to testify his Resentments of it to the Pope.

But a few Days after, this Design being discover'd by the Queen-Mother, in all appearance, through the means of one of Cardinal *Ludovisi*'s Domesticks, the King was so highly incens'd at it, that he dispatch'd a Courier to the Ambassador to tell him, That he must inform the Pope and Cardinal Patron, that what the Nuncio had lately written, as in the King's Name, was false, and to use all imaginable diligence to procure a Cap for the Bishop of *Luçon*. Thus that Affair, which in all probability would have destroy'd the Pretensions

ons of this Prelate, gave him greater hopes of the Purple now than ever. 1621.

While the Bishop of *Luçon* thus busied himself with his own particular Interests, Proposals of Peace were made, which might, to the great advantage of the Kingdom, have put a stop to the Civil War, if the King had been pleas'd to listen to them. All that the other Party demanded, was inviolably to observe the Edict of *Nantz*, and to leave all things in the same Posture as they were in at the death of *Henry* the Fourth. But the Ministers could not suffer the King to stay at *Paris*, for fear lest some new Favourite should take the Government of the State out of their Hands. On the other side the Court-Flatterers were still buzzing it into the King's Ears, that he was not Master of his own Dominions, so long as any part of them was exempt from the Royal Jurisdiction; so they hoped to reduce the *Hugonots* to such a pass, as to depend absolutely upon the King's good Pleasure, or rather that of his Favourites, Enemies to all Equity and Laws, whose Caprices this mistaken Prince took for the Rule of his Conduct. The Ecclesiasticks, who have an implacable Aversion to all such as presume to touch their Authority or Revenues, earnestly solicited the King not to lose this opportunity of exterminating the Hereticks. What fell out unluckily for the *Hugonots*, some of the Nobility that were of their Religion, fearing to be overwhelm'd under the Ruins of the Party, abandon'd them at a time when they had the greatest occasion for them. Nor was this all the Mischief that beset them, for their Generals could not endure, that not only the Assemblies of their Noblemen, but what was more unpalatable, that their very Synods should pretend to concern themselves with the management of the War, though the Persons that compos'd them understood nothing of the Matter. To this may be added that there was little or no recompence to be hop'd for from a sort of Anarchy, as in effect their Confederacy was; whereas the King was in a Capacity to give them the greatest Rewards, and yet they ran no Risk to obtain them. This brought off the *Dukes of Sully, Bouillon, and Lesdigueres*, the Count de *Chatillon*, and several more of eminent Note from their Par-

1622. Party; some of whom turn'd Catholicks afterwards. These were the greatest Inconveniencies the *Hugonots* had to fear, and the greatest Reason which occasion'd them to have the worst in the course of this War, as will appear by what I am going to relate, though I do not design to stop at Particulars of small importance.

As the King had no Revenues, during these intestine Broils, out of those places, where the *Hugonots* were strongest, it was necessary to think of some new Expedient to raise Money for the continuance of the War. He publish'd several Edicts, for the creation of new Offices, and for an Imposition of some Taxes. These Edicts being sent to the Parliament of *Paris* to be ratified, the Parliament made a difficulty to ratifie some of them, as being contrary to Justice and the Welfare of the Kingdom. But these Reasons were out of Doors, when the King * came in Person to the Parliament accompanied by Monsieur his Brother, the Prince of *Conde*, and the Count de *Soissons*, Princes of the Blood. The Prince of *Joinville*, the Duke of *Vendome*, and other Lords and Officers of the Crown. The Chancellor having represented in the King's Name the pressing Necessities of the State, and commanded these Edicts to be read aloud, they fell to voting, and no one durst oppose the King's Pleasure in his Presence, so that these Edicts were enroll'd and registred.

After this the King resolv'd to go into *Britany* to stop the Progress of the Duke of *Soubise*, who had made himself Master of several Posts in *Low Poitou*, and now began to threaten that Province. He parted on the 20th of *March*, and arriv'd at *Nantz* the 10th of *April*, where a general Rendezvous of the Army was made. The Prince of *Conde* was Lieutenant-General of it, and it consisted of about ten thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse. *Soubise* had got but a very inconsiderable Body of Men together, which was not half so numerous as that of the King; so that he thought it his safest way to retire to the Isle of *Rhee*. But as he was not comparable, either for Courage or Conduct, to his Brother the Duke of *Roban*, † he knew not how to post himself to the best advantage in this Island, which he might easily

† See the
Mem. of *Bes-*
semp. T. 2.
p. 264.

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63

could have kept it if he had taken his Measures right, and so was forc'd to quit it with a great loss of Men and Money.

From thence the King came before the City of *Saintes*, which the Duke of *Angoulême* had taken, and was taken on the 10th of May, 1627, after the arrival of his Majesty. About the same time the *Marquis de la Force*, who was sent in *Guinne* for the *Hugonots*, made his return, and receiv'd of the King a Marechal's Staff of France, and a Sum of Money at his Foot, the sum of which Place he offer'd to surrender to his Majesty, after he had concluded a very advantageous Capitulation for them.

Negrepelisse, a small place in the same Province of *Guinne*, was attack'd a few Days after. It had been taken the Year before by the Duke of *Angoulême*, and the *Marechal de Themines* had plac'd three hundred Men in Garrison there, who afterwards in the night cut off the heads of the troublesome Guests, by which Action he receiv'd the King's Favour, that he was to be made a Peer of France, and to be a Count for it.

Within the place he was three Days, and then the Sword all that they met in the way, and escap'd but a few Women, who were surpris'd at the brutality of Soldiers in such occasions.

On the like occasions, the *Catholics* have never been more cruel, nor more unmerciful, than the *Hugonots*; but those who were within receiv'd no better treatment than the Men: the Men were all hang'd, and the Women left to Liberty.

Thus it was that the Duke of *Angoulême*, without giving himself the trouble to distinguish between the innocent and the Guilty, was destroying even the poor Infants, destroy'd the infants of *Negrepelisse*, and expos'd their Wives and Daughters to Indignities and Torments that were worse than Death it self.

On the 13th of the same Month, the Town of *Antoin* upon the River *Aveiron*, was besieg'd, which made a very vigorous Resistance, wherein the Royal Army lost abundance of Men, was on the 22d oblig'd

* See the Rebellion of France, T. 2. p. 123.

622. to surrender upon Discretion, when the French and Swiss Guards took Possession of it. From thence the Army march'd to *Languedoc*, with a design to attack *Montpellier*: out of which place the *Hugonots* had turn'd all the Catholics, and seiz'd it for themselves. In the mean time his Majesty receiv'd the News that the *Mareschal de Lesdigueres* had given his Word to turn Catholic, provided they would make him Constable, and send him the Order of the *Holy Ghost*. His great Experience in War, and the Authority he had among the *Hugonots*, but especially in *Dauphiné*, had influenc'd the King to offer him the Constable's Sword, after the death of the Duke of *Luines*; and after he had made him an offer of that consequence, it was no difficult matter to grant him the Order of the *Holy Ghost*, as soon as they were inform'd, that he was dispos'd to renounce *Calvinism*. This was the efficacious Grace that convert'd the *Constable de Lesdigueres* to the Profession of the Catholic Religion, though it could not disengage him from his Excesses in relation to Women, to which he wholly abandon'd himself, as long as his Age would give him leave.

* *M-m de*
Siffamp. T. 2.
p. 233.

† *Aug. 28.*

* See the 2d
Tom. of the
Rebellion of
France.

The King's Army being in *Languedoc*, reduc'd several small Towns there, before they came to *Montpellier*, and among the rest *Luvel*, where the Capitulation was soon observ'd, that in the sight of the *Mareschal de Praslin* the Royalists not only plunder'd the Garrison which march'd out of it, but kill'd above four hundred of them. All the Justice that could be obtain'd, was to hang five eight Soldiers as they return'd from *Luvel*, laden with the Spoils of those whom they had kill'd, against the Faith given by the Generals. † Not long after the King entred into *Aiguemorts*, which was put into his Hands by the Count de *Chatillon*, who by way of reward, receiv'd a considerable Sum of Money, and was made a *Mareschal of France*; which depriv'd the *Hugonots* of an eminent Leader, of whom they complain'd a long time after, as of a * Man that was but indifferently affected to their Parry.

In the mean time all the Losses and Miscarriages inclin'd the *Hugonots* to sue for a Peace, and the *Constable de Lesdigueres* endeavour'd to serve them in this Conjunction,

junction, being now in the King's Camp, where he receiv'd the Constables Sword on the 29th of August; after which the Marquis de Bassompierre had the King's Word to be made Marechal of France in his Place, which was not executed till six Weeks after. Since the Hugonots offer'd to lay down their Arms in all places, if the King would grant them an Amnesty for what was past, and Liberty of Conscience for the future, which they had till then enjoy'd, it was imagin'd that a Peace would be immediately concluded; but an unexpected Obstacle interven'd, which was as follows. The People of Montpellier offer'd to receive the * Constable de Lesdigueres into the Town, with such Forces as he should think convenient, provided that the King would keep himself at ten Leagues distance from them. The reason of this was, because the Prince of Condé, an Enemy to the Peace which was then on foot, had given out in several Places, that if the King enter'd into Montpellier, he would see it should be pillag'd, whatever care was taken to the contrary. The Hugonots being inform'd of this, stipulated, that the Constable might come and take Possession there in the King's Name, and that his Majesty would keep off. The greatest part of his Majesty's Council were of Opinion, that it would be the best way to grant their Demand, since at the bottom the King would be no less Master of the City; but the Advice of the Prince of Condé, supported by Bassompierre, carried it; who pretended, that it was incompatible with his Majesty's Honour to see himself refus'd entrance into a City which belong'd to him, by his own Subjects. But at last, after a Siege of six Weeks, in which the Royal Army lost a world of Men, the Duke of Rohan prevail'd with the Inhabitants of Montpellier to receive the King. What helped to facilitate this Capitulation was, that the Prince of Condé begg'd leave of the King to make a Voyage into Italy, pretending that the Constable de Lesdigueres was expected every moment in the Camp, and that he could not frame himself to be under his Orders: But after all, the true reason of it was, because he saw it was impossible for him to hinder the conclusion of the Peace. In effect the King having promis'd those of Montpellier what they demanded

1622. demanded; they consented that he should come into the City, provided he left no Garrison behind him at his departure, so he made his entry into it on the 20th. of October. All the Articles were punctually observ'd but the last, the King leaving two Regiments in Garrison when he went. But the *Hugonots* were too weary of the War, to take up Arms again for the infraction of this Article.

The King's Naval Forces, Commanded by the Duke of *Guise*, had likewise great advantages this Year over the *Rochellers*, whom they lock'd up by Land by *Fort-Lewis*, and several other Forts, which were the beginning of their Ruin, as we shall see hereafter. But the Peace concluded at *Montpellier*, put the *Rochellers* out of a condition of fearing any ill Effects from the Duke of *Guise's* Victory: Nay, it was promised the *Rochellers* to demolish *Fort-Lewis*; but it appear'd by the effects, that the Court had no design to keep their Word.

The Cardinal of *Retz* died, while the King was carrying on the War of *Languedoc*; so that now there were two vacant Places, which the Bishop of *Luçon* had a great desire to fill, one in the Sacred College, and the other in the King's Council. He enjoy'd them both soon after, particularly his Cardinal's Cap, which *Gregory XV.* promis'd him at the first Promotion he made when he saw the King desir'd it in good earnest. The instances which *Sillery* made to obtain it, were so much the more vigorous, because being Uncle to *Puyssieux*, who was no Friend of the Bishop, he was afraid that if he fail'd to obtain this Cap, it would be said that he solicited it but faintly, with an intention to be refused. In short, on the 5th. of September the Bishop of *Luçon* was created Cardinal, with the Nuncio of *Poland* of the House of *Torres, Ridolfi* a *Florentine*, and *de la Cueva* a *Spaniard*. The King receiv'd the news of this Promotion in *Languedoc*, and writ a Biller to Cardinal *Ludovisio* to thank him for it. The Bishop was then at *Lyons*, and soon after came to *Avignon*, to give him thanks there in person for the great Honour he had done him, after he had perform'd the same before in a Letter. The Court came at last to *Lyons*; and here it was that our Prelate, in the Archbishop's Chappel, receiv'd his Cardi-

Cardinal's Cap from the King's Hand, to whom he made a Compliment in the presence of the whole Court. He particularly thanked the Queen-Mother, and made Protestations of being everlastingly her most devoted Servant; though his everlasting Gratitude and Acknowledgements continu'd no longer, than the Friendship of that Princess was advantageous to him. After this, she did all that lay in her power to procure his re-admission into the Council-Chamber; but she was not able to effect it, till about twenty Months after his Elevation to the Dignity of Cardinal. During this time, the Cardinal not only made his Court to her with the same assiduity as before; but still discharged the Office of Steward of her House.

France being taken up with no War in the Year 1623. those restless Spirits of which the Court was compos'd, and the King's Weakness, occasion'd some Alterations there, which one would not have suspected. * The Count de Schomberg, who was Grand Master of the Artillery, and Superintendant of the Finances, had been for some time disgusted with the Chancellor, with his Son the Marquis de Puyfieux, and the Marquis de Commarin, who had been Keeper of the Seals ever since the Year 1622. after the Death of de Vie. The Marquis de la Visille, *Maréchal de Camp*, was also his sworn Enemy, because Schomberg had gotten from him Two thousand Crowns a Year, upon the Revenues of the Province of Champagne, which the King gave him by way of recompence for the Government of *Mesieres*, which he had lost in the beginning of the Troubles. All these Persons combin'd together to ruin Schomberg, which they effectually perform'd, as we shall see hereafter. It will not be amiss to give some Instances now and then of these Revolutions at Court, because by this means the Reader will better know the Genius of Lewis XIII. and after what manner he was to be govern'd; which the Cardinal de Richelieu so perfectly possess'd to the end of his Life, that when he was in the Ministry, the King made his Applications to him almost as much as the other Ministers were oblig'd to make their Applications to the King.

This Prince * was of a Temper very susceptible to receive all manner of Impressions which People gave him, and

1622.

1623.

* See the
Mem. of Bas-
comp. T. 2.
p. 291.

* See *ibid.*
p. 293.

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and seldom or never penetrated into the Motives which set them on, when they accused any one before him. He would listen to all that was told him, especially if it were about a Money-Concern, being extremely parsimonious, and even covetous towards those whom he was not afraid of. He relied so strangely upon those that had once got an Ascendant over his Mind, that he entirely depended upon their Counsel, till such time as some one or other made him entertain an ill Opinion of them. He had been told that *Schomberg* did not understand the Management of the Finances; that he was negligent, and suffered the Treasurers to cheat him, without ever calling them to an account; so that he design'd to turn him out of his Place, and only suspended the execution of it, out of respect to the Prince of *Condé*, who appear'd vigorously in his behalf. When the Prince was gone for *Italy*, the *Marquis de La Vieville* came to inform his Majesty, that *Schomberg* had already spent the Royal Revenue for the following Year; and that his Father-in-Law *Beaumarlais*, who was Treasurer of the Exchequer, being unable to exercise his Office that Year without ruining himself, had intreated his Majesty to give him his Discharge. This last Blow had like to have destroy'd *Schomberg's* Reputation with him for ever; the King imagining that all was certainly true, if the *Marschal de Bassompierre* had not turn'd it aside for some time, by suggesting a thing to the King, which ought to have come into his Head without any one's Advice, That it was but convenient to know whether what they accus'd the Count of *Schomberg* on, was really true, and to hear his Justification.

This Advice was too just to be absolutely neglected: But although *Schomberg* had declar'd, that he was ready to convince the King of the contrary, yet *Beaumarlais* having said since that, That several Millions must be advanc'd to defray the King's Expences; and that it would not be possible for him to do it, unless there was another Superintendant, who would give him security for the reimbursement of the Money; the King then resolv'd to turn *Schomberg* out of this Place. *Vieville* begg'd it for himself, upon condition that if within two or three Months at farthest, he did not acquit himself in it to general

neral Satisfaction, they should put another in his room; and as he was supported by the Chancellor, and *de Puy-sieux*, he soon obtain'd it. 1623.

At first this new Superintendant was not admitted into the Cabinet-Council, and took all imaginable care to acquire the Esteem of the People: But as soon as he was admitted into the Council, not being able to endure a longer Dependance upon the Chancellor, he began to cabal against him and his Son, and was not unsuccessful in his Designs, as it appear'd in the beginning of the following Year.

All this while Cardinal *Richlieu* acted for the Queen-Mother, in all occasions she was pleas'd to employ him. After the death of the *Marschal d'Ancre* the King having discovered that he had Money in the Bank of *Florence*, at the Solicitation of the Duke of *Luynes*, he employ'd all his Interest to call it out from thence; but *Cosmo* the Great Duke, to whom the Crown of France was indebted, had kept back Two hundred thousand Crowns of it, under I don't know what Pretence. This Prince dying in the Year 1621. new Instances were made as from the King, to demand this Money of *Ferdinand* his Successor. At last the King declar'd, that it did not belong to him, but to the Queen his Mother, who began to stickle for it very earnestly, designing to restore it to *Arrigo Concini*, Son of the *Marschal d'Ancre*. Upon this occasion, Cardinal *Richlieu* had several Conferences with *Condi*, Agent to the Great Duke; and 'twas agreed between them, That the Grand Duke should immediately give the Queen-Mother a Hundred thousand Crowns, and that the King should pay the rest at several Payments, to discharge what he ow'd to the House of *Medici*. While this Negotiation was on foot, the Grand Duke's Agent offer'd to give Fifty thousand Crowns to the *Marschal d'Ancre's* Son: But the Cardinal answer'd, That the Queen would never consent to have it publish'd, that she had given the King Two hundred thousand Crowns; which she now design'd to restore to *Concini*, because it might offend his Majesty, but that she would have it own'd that this Money belong'd to her self. Thus the Cardinal, either out of Gratitude, or else out of

1623. Obedience to the Queen, was serviceable in this occasion to the Son of his First Benefactor.

Towards the end of the Year 1623. the King talk'd of taking away the Seals from the Chancellour *de Sillery*, under a pretence that being Fourscore Years old, and incommoded with the Gout, he was not able to follow the King in his Voyages. It unluckily happen'd at the same time, that the Marquis *de Puyseux* his Son fell sick of a Quartan Ague, which hinder'd him from being so often about the King as formerly, and put him out of a condition to ward those Blows which were given him in his absence. While he kept his bed, and the Father was detain'd at home by reason of his extream old Age, *la Vieville* manag'd his Game so well, that he prevail'd with the King to discard them both. He had insinuated himself into this Prince's Affection, by commending his Majesty's Conduct, who marched in Person with his Army; whereas the Chancellour disapproved these Voyages; and by taking this liberty, had rendred himself disagreeable to the King. This, and other ill Offices which were done him, made his Majesty so resolutely bent to dismiss him, that all the Favour the Chancellour could obtain, was, that in consideration of his old Age, it should appear that he threw it up of his own accord.

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Thus going to wish the King a happy New Year, he humbly desir'd him to take the Seals, and give him his *Quies* from an Employment which he could not well acquit himself of, by reason of his Age. He likewise entreated his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to bestow the Seals on one that was neither an Enemy to himself, nor to his Son; and they were given to *d'Aligre*, after *Puyseux* had surrender'd them; which he did on the 2d. of January. From that instant the Secretary began to be less assiduous at Court, which he never used to do before. Six days together his Majesty gave Audience to several Ambassadors by himself, without having the Secretary for foreign Affairs about him, as the custom is: However, the King look'd pleasingly enough upon him, although he had resolv'd to cashier him as well as his Father.

The principal Enemies he had at Court were the Queen-

Queen-Mother, the Prince of *Condé*, the Counts of *Soissons*, *Thoiras*, the Duke of *Bellegarde*, and several others, who could not endure the great Authority and State he took upon him. The Queen-Mother was offended to see a Minister more powerful than her self near his Majesty; and besides, *Cardinal Richlieu* incens'd her against him, because he had as much as in him lay oppos'd his Promotion. The Prince of *Condé* did not love him, because he had contributed to the Conclusion of a Peace with the *Hugonots* at *Montpellier*, by which he lost the Power he had in the King's Army while the War lasted. The Count de *Soissons* hated him, because for several Preences he had retarded his Marriage with Madam the King's Sister. *Thoiras* was provok'd against him, because *Puyfieux* had endeavour'd all manner of ways to turn him out of the King's Favour. And lastly, the Duke of *Bellegarde* was his Enemy, because he had oppos'd the laying down of his Office, which he was minded to leave in favour of one of his Relations. All of them alledg'd a very plausible reason to the King, which was, That it was by no means safe for his Majesty to employ a Man in his Service, who would always think himself injured, because the Seals were taken away from his Father.

At last, on the 4th. of *February*, the King discharged him as well as the Chancellor, in this manner: He sent a Secretary of the Cabinet to them, with a Billet under his hand, that they might have no pretence to question the Order which he brought them by word of mouth. The Secretary told them, That his Majesty being sensible they had acquitted themselves but ill in their respective Places, could make use of them no longer: That they were commanded to retire to one of their Houses out of *Paris*: That nevertheless the King, who never refused Justice to any of his Subjects, gave them full leave to justify themselves, if they were able, from an infinite number of Accusations; but it must be done at some distance from the Court: And, That they were to receive this as a Recompence for the long Services their Family had done the Crown, and as a most particular Favour, since the King had enough in his hands to proceed against them with much more rigour and severity. The Chancellor receiv'd these Orders, as old Men are wont to

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do, he complain'd very much of his Misfortune ; and said, that in regard of his Justification, he would obey. His Son answer'd with more Courage and Resolution, That their Enemies could advance nothing but downright Calumnies against them ; and that he hop'd to make it appear so, since his Majesty had granted him the favour to defend himself : That as for the rest, he would not fail to obey the King, as he had always done. Immediately after, they order'd the Gates of their House to be shut, *Puyseux* went the same day out of *Paris*, and the Chancellor the next morning. 'Twas the general Opinion, That as the Son sign'd the King's Orders, and the Father was Master of the Seals, they had employ'd them to their own private advantage. *Puyseux* was accus'd in particular for dispatching Orders to the Ambassadors abroad, of his own head, without acquainting the King with them ; nay, that he had frequently made Alterations in those his Majesty had given him. But after a mighty noise and bustle, there were but very few Depositions against them, and even those came from their profess'd Enemies. *Puyseux's* Place, which related to the War, and to foreign Affairs, was divided between four Secretaries, who were to give an account of their Administration to the Cabinet-Council, where the Marquis de la Vieville had the greatest sway.

To compleat the ruin of the House of the *Silleries*, nothing now remain'd but to re-call the *Commandeur de Sillery*, who was Ambassador at *Rome*, which they contriv'd after this manner: To colour his Calling home with some plausible Pretence, since there was no occasion to complain of his Conduct there, the King sent word to *Marquemont* Archbishop of *Lyons*, that having rightly consider'd the Difficulties that arose in the Affair of the *Valteline*, which we shall have occasion to speak of hereafter, he saw it was expedient to instruct himself in all the Circumstances, and the Sentiments of the Pope and Court of *Rome* about that Affair ; which he could not better do, than from the mouth of the *Commandeur de Sillery* : That he had therefore determin'd to re-call him ; and that the more readily, because the time of his Embassie was ready to expire : That he would send the Count de *Beaumes* in his Place ; but that in the interim, he order'd the Archbishop to look after his Affairs there. At

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At this time *James I.* King of *England*, having broke off the Marriage of his Son the Prince of *Wales*, with the Infanta of *Spain*, began to treat of a Marriage between the aforeſaid Prince, and *Henrietta Maria*, Siſter to *Lewis XIII.* The buſineſs of the *Valteline*, which was thought to be as good as concluded, was perplex'd with more Difficulties than ever; ſo that in all probability a Rupture with *Spain* muſt ſoon enſue.

The End of the Firſt Book.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
Of the Famous
Cardinal de *RICHLIEU*.

VOL. I. BOOK II:

Containing the Principal Transactions under his Ministry, from his Admission into the Council, to the taking of Rochelle in 1628.

THE Court, and the Affairs of the Crown, were in this Posture as I have related, when at last the Queen-Mother prevail'd with the King, that the Cardinal of *Richlieu* should be receiv'd into the Council of State.

At that time there was scarce any Person of great Experience, or sufficient Capacity at Court to manage the difficult Affairs, which the Crown was like to be engag'd in; so that the Cardinal, who possess'd these Qualities in an eminent Degree, was look'd upon as a Man necessary to the State, and who might render it great Services,

The

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The Court was at *Compiègne*; and the King on the 25th of *April* in the Morning, being in the Queen's Chamber, where he was accusom'd to go every Day at the same Hour, to consult with her about the most important Affairs, declar'd the Cardinal of *Richlieu* Counsellor of State, to the Queen's great Satisfaction. All the Kingdom took it now for granted, that the King was perfectly reconcil'd to her, and that he had considerably augmented her Authority by introducing her Principal Minister into the King's Council. In the mean time, those who were of the Council before, and could not behold without Grief, the advancement of the Cardinal, and who fear'd, with reason, lest he should raise himself above them, because of his Dignity, order'd things so, that the King declar'd, he only intended that this Prelate should give his Advice in matters which should be propos'd there, but not to act in Affairs of State, as the King's Minister. His Dignity of Cardinal gave him a Seat over-against the Cardinal of *Roche-foucaud*, above that of the Constable; whereas, when he was Secretary of State, the other Secretaries thought it hard to give him the Precedence. Although he was extremely ambitious of the Honour to be admitted into the Council, * yet he said to those who came to wish him Joy, That the King, purely of his own Motion, had open'd the way, and had order'd him to obey him; but as for himself, he had rather have liv'd at home, without undertaking the management of Affairs, which for the most part, is recompens'd with nothing but hatred and Envy. He added, That since the King was resolv'd to load him with so honourable, but heavy a Burden, he had told his Majesty, That, because of his want of Health, he would only attend at Council as often as that would permit him, to give his Opinion when it was asked; but as to negotiate at his own House, in any way whatsoever, he had absolutely refus'd, that he might not find Vexation and Trouble, where he only sought his Privacy and Rest; and that the King had exempted him from that Fatigue. But those who knew that he was not so sickly as he pretended, and who were acquainted with his stirring Humour, and greediness of Command, saw easily, that this was only a Copy of his

* See *Siri*
Mem. Record.
 T. 5. P. 593.

his Countenance; and those few people who suffer'd 1624. themselves to be cheated by his first Discourses, were in a little time disabus'd.

The Earls of *Holland* and *Carlisle*, Ambassadors Extraordinary from *England*, arriv'd at * *Paris*, to treat of * *In the Month* a Marriage between the Prince of *Wales* and *Henrietta* of *June*. *Maria* the King's Sister, and to offer to enter into League with *France* against *Spain*. They desired a joint Treaty about these two Affairs, and to examine their Propositions, Commissioners were appointed, viz. the Cardinal of *Richlieu*, the Keeper of the Seals, the Marquis de *la Vioville*, and *la Ville aux-clers*. The Ambassadors not knowing after what manner the Cardinal would receive them, desir'd him to inform them: He answer'd, That he would treat them as he treated the Ambassadors of the Emperor, and the King of *Spain*: That he could not give them the Right Hand, because he gave it not to those Ambassadors; but in conducting them back, he would go further than he had been accusom'd, provided that he might be suffer'd to cover this Condescension with a pretext, which might hinder others from drawing it into a Precedent. The Ambassadors disapprov'd of the Expedient, but begg'd of him to give them time to receive Orders concerning it from the King their Master, and not to take it ill, if whilst they stayed for them, they did not appear in the Queen's Chamber. They added nevertheless, That if he would forgive him, to be sick, they would give him a Visit, and that this would take away all Difficulties.

The Cardinal kept his Bed on the morrow, and the other Three Commissioners being come to his Chamber, the Ambassadors enter'd soon after, and explain'd the Intention of King *James*, and of the Prince of *Wales*, concerning the Marriage, and the League against *Spain*. Although they desir'd that these two Articles might be conjoin'd, they consented to begin with the first; upon which they represented, That the Proposition which they made of a Marriage between the Prince of *Wales* and a Daughter of *France* was no new thing, since it had been discour'd of many Years, to marry the same Prince with *Madam Christina*, who was afterwards married to the Prince of *Piedmont*; so that they had
nothing

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nothing to do but to reassume the Articles which were already made, and to continue on the same Foot. The French answer'd, That the Face of Affairs was chang'd since that time, and that they had at present other Thoughts; That it was the King of *England's* Interest to preserve the Reputation of the King in this Marriage between his Son and his Majesty's Sister; That they could not be contented now with what his *Britannick* Majesty had formerly agreed to *Madam Christina* about Religion, after what had happen'd in *Spain*, when there was a Treaty of Marriage between the Prince of *Wales* and the Infanta. They spoke much about this; and the Ambassadors being press'd to give in writing, what they could agree to, presented an Article, by which their Master promis'd free Exercise of the Catholick Religion to *Madam* and her Train. But the King's Commissioners said, It was necessary to begin, by laying the Eleven Articles on the Table, which his Majesty of *Great Britain* had agreed with *Spain*, when the Prince of *Wales* sought the Infanta. The Ambassadors immediately rejected this Proposition: To which *De la Ville aux-clers* answer'd, That he was surpriz'd that they were not come with Power to make the same Concessions to the *Most Christian King*, which their King had granted to his *Catholick Majesty*, since they might easily know, that *France* would not suffer any inequality in this Affair.

Hereupon a Courier was dispatch'd to the Count de *Teillieres* Ambassador of *France* in *England*, that he should see the Prince and the Duke of *Buckingham*, to remonstrate to them, that the King could demand no less; and how much it import'd the Crown of *England* that this Negotiation should not be broken off; that they knew for certain, that the Prince still hearkned to those Propositions which the *Spaniards* had made him, and which, in all appearance, would turn to his great disadvantage. But the King having discover'd, that the Ambassadors of *England* had not written to their Master, another Courier was sent to *Teillieres*, to advertise him to take no notice of it. In effect, the Ambassadors of *England* soon consented to agree to all the Articles with *Spain*, except Three; of which, one was concerning
Liber-

Liberty of Conscience for the *English* Catholics; another, for a publick Church for the Retirue of Madam; and the last related to the Education of those Children who should be born in this Marriage, who were to be (until they arriv'd to twelve Years of Age) in the Hands of the Queen, to bring them up in her Religion. The *French* represented to the Ambassadors, That this would do great Service to his *Britannick* Majesty, by uniting to his Party all the *English* Catholics, who would oppose themselves to the *Puritans* or *Presbyterians*, by whom the King was not belov'd: But this Reason was too weak, because the number of *Presbyterians* was incomparably greater, and their Party more formidable than that of the Catholics: Inasmuch that the Court of *England* had a great deal more to do to manage the first, whose Favour, however, it was not difficult for the King to obtain, if he pleas'd. So the *English* Ambassadors would never consent to grant a Church to the Catholics, for fear lest the People of *London* should mutiny; although they agreed to the Article concerning the Education of the Children. The Court of *France* insisted to have a Bishop sent with the Queen; which the Ambassadors rejected as useless. As to what respected the Dowry, they demanded Eight hundred thousand Crowns; of which, half to be paid in *London* the Evening before the Marriage, Two hundred thousand a Year after, and the rest in six Months after that. They provided also, that if Madam should happen to die before the Prince, without Children, the Prince should be oblig'd to restore only the Moiety.

This Negotiation being brought thus far, the Ambassadors declar'd, that they could proceed no farther; and they sent to *London* what was already agreed to. In the mean time the King of *France* was to procure a Dispensation of the Pope, who was *Urban* the Eighth, for his Sister, that she might be permitted to espouse an Heretick Prince. Three Months slipp'd away in staying for the Pope's Dispensation. The Nuncio *Spada* was not wanting on this occasion to represent to the Queen-Mother, that she could not conclude the Marriage of her daughter, without first obtaining License of the Pope; but the

1624. Ambassadors of *England* refus'd to stay for it. They apprehended at *Rome*, that this Alliance would engage *Levis XIII.* to support the Interests of the Elector *Palatine*, a Calvinist, Brother-in-Law to the Prince of *Wales*, and to cause the *Palatinate*, which had been taken from him, and conferr'd on the Catholick Branch of the House of *Bavaria*, to be restor'd to him: But at the bottom *England* did not interest it self much in this; and *France* had never done it, if other things had not happen'd afterwards. Nevertheless, the Pope fearing that this Crown would insensibly oblige it self to protect the Hereticks, wrote a Brief to the King, and another to the Queen-Mother, by which he endeavour'd to divert them from it. The Nuncio, when he presented them, back'd them with all the Reasons of Reputation and Conscience that he could think off: He told them of the noise that was made of the King's joyning with Hereticks, which brought great Prejudice to the Catholick Religion in general; and more especially in *Germany*. * The King answer'd, That the Pope should find him no less a good Catholick than the *Spaniards*; and that this perhaps was the only Reason that retarded the Marriage of his Sister. The Queen also, amongst other things, said, That the *Spaniards*, who hindred the Marriage, and rais'd so many Scruples, offer'd at present a Blank to the King of *England*; but that her Daughter should not depart till they had taken all Assurances which could be requir'd on the account of Religion. As for the League which the *English* propos'd, it was said, That it was not concluded for that; and that the Marriage was to precede, as a thing which had no relation to the other.

* See *Siri*
Rec. p. 614.

It was believ'd that the Queen-Mother long'd passionately for this Marriage, to secure her self of a new Support, in case any disturbances should arise in *France*. The Nuncio was not contented with speaking to her before Matters were concluded with the *English*; he spoke also to Cardinal *Richlieu*, to whom he represented, that his Character, and his Dignity, oblig'd him to oppose the conclusion of the Marriage, without the Permission of his Holiness; and that if people saw he oppos'd it but coldly, the Laick Counsellors of State would easily give their Hands to it.

The

The principal Difficulty they insisted upon at *Rome*, 1624. and which the *French* could hardly resolve, was, that the Pope could not with Honour agree to a Dispensation, in favour of a Marriage between the Prince of *Wales* and a Daughter of *France*, on Conditions less advantageous to the Catholick Religion, than those which had been made with the Infanta of *Spain*: It would be more honourable for *France* to come to a Conclusion on better Terms than the *Spaniard*. The *French* said truly, That the Prince of *Wales* had agreed to the *Spaniards* what they had demanded; but that then he was in their hands, and that as soon as he was departed from *Spain*, he revok'd all. But to this it was replied, That since the Prince was willing to marry so great a Princess as the Daughter of *France*, he must needs come up to their Proposals, because he could not well renew with *Spain*. But as it was impossible to obtain from the Parliament a Church for the Catholicks in *England*, the *French* saw very well, that the Prince of *Wales* would rather quit his Pretensions to the King's Sister, than agree to a thing which he could not grant without hazarding all: So that they were resolved to pass over this Article. The Cardinal de *Richlieu* believed, * that to obtain this Dispensation, it was sufficient that the King was assured of all the Conditions which were necessary for the Salvation of Madam and all her Family; and that there was just reason to hope it would turn to the general Benefit of the *English* Catholicks: For which reason, he hoped it would be approv'd by his Holiness; whom he would also have to understand, that if the Dispensation staid too long, they would not wait for it.

Several Casuists had already declar'd, * that this Dispensation was not absolutely necessary; and that if it was a sin to conclude a Marriage without it, it could only be a venial one, in a Country where there was Liberty of Conscience, and where the Catholicks and the *Hugonots* lived together. One day * when the Nuncio went to visit the Cardinal, the latter said, That *Betunes* had sent him word, that the Pope had told him he would give no Dispensation, unless *England* would agree to the same Conditions at *Paris*, which they had consented to at *Madrid*. The Nuncio answer'd, That he had no

* Letters of the Cardinal to M. d'Herbault, Aug. 22. 1624.

* Letter of Marquemont to Herault, of July 29. 1623.

* Aug. 22. c. 37. T. 5. p. 62.

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reason to wonder at it, since the King and the Cardina had said, That the Catholick Religion should obtain no less advantages by the means of *France*, than by the means of *Spain*. That is true, said the Cardinal; and we will keep all that we have promised, because the King of England will grant us all that he promised to the Spaniard, with a design to execute, and not what he promised only for Ceremony. This distinction, replied Spada, is very metaphysical; and if we should give place to such Considerations, the Exceptions would easily overthrow the Rule. He added, That the Cardinal had manag'd this Affair far differently from what it was, when it was in the hands of Monsieur de la Vieville. That would be a fine thing, said the Cardinal, if it should be said, That Vieville had made this Match, but those who succeeded him have broke it. The Nuncio replied, That he would have more Honour by breaking it, than by concluding it, according to the Maxim of Vieville. The mischief is, answered the Cardinal, that we are not now in a condition to have any regard to what may be done with Honour. Spada replied, That the French could not possibly avoid the Censure of the World; and the rather, because the *English* boasted they had already gain'd the Point they desir'd, as well relating to the Marriage it self, as to the Circumstances of it. He meant the Pretensions of the *English* Ambassadors, that they had out-witted the Cardinal. But the Cardinal said, That he never went to meet them, nor did he accompany them, but only staid for them in the Chamber of the Assembly, sitting in the most honourable Place, or standing, until the Table was brought in: That he was the First who spake, and the First who seated himself; and that he never rendred them a Visit, for which the Earl of Carlisle was very angry.

Some time before this Conversation, Father Berulle was sent to Rome to press on the Dispensation: He had * Instructions given him, dated the 31st of July, which contain'd amongst other things, That this Marriage might be of great advantage to the Catholick Religion, because the Princess being well brought up, and firm in her Faith, might gain the Prince her Spouse, and put the *English* Catholicks in security, in respect of their Estates

* See
Siri, Mem.
Rec. T. 5.
p. 623.

Estates and Lives: That the King of *England* being by that means fix'd to the Crown of *France*, would no more foment the Hatred which the Protestants had against the Catholics; so that the *Turks* seeing the Unity of the Christians, would dare to attempt nothing against them: That his most Christian Majesty had declar'd to the *English* Ambassadors, that he would do nothing that might derogate from the Respect due to his Holiness: That it was agreed, that the Ceremony of the Espousals should be perform'd according to the Usage of the Church of *Rome*, as the same was practis'd at the Marriage of *Margarette de Valois*, and the King of *Navarre*: That it was moreover agreed, that she should have the free Exercise of the Catholick Religion for herself and Family; so that in the Royal Houses where she should reside, there should be a Chappel for hearing of Mass, and administering the Sacraments: That she should have a Bishop for her Grand Almoner, with sufficient power to proceed against the Ecclesiasticks who neglected their Duty: That there should be of them to the number of Twenty six, who when they officiated, should wear their Ecclesiastical Habits: That the King and the Prince should swear never to urge the Princess neither directly nor indirectly, to do any thing whatsoever contrary to the Catholick Religion: That her Domesticks should be *French* Catholics, chosen by the most Christian King; and when any died, they should substitute others of the same Religion in their places: That the Children born in this Marriage, should be brought up by their Mother until they arrived to the Age of Thirteen Years: That the King of *England*, in consideration of this Alliance, should hinder all molestation of his Catholick Subjects; and that they should be compelled to take no Oath contrary to their Religion. It was on this foot that they demanded the Dispensation.

But because the Pope might object, That the Articles with *Spain* were more advantageous to the Catholick Religion than those of *France*, they charged Father *Berulle* to represent to him, That the *Spaniards* to gain time, and not to surrender the *Palatinate*, offered at present to be contented with less than the King of *England* had agreed to his Majesty; and that the Prince of *Wales*, to draw

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himself out of the hands of the *Spaniards*, had promised more than he had design'd to make good: That, in fine, it was impossible to obtain more from the *English*.

Father *Berulle* acquitted himself of his Commission so well, that the Pope was mollified, and promis'd the Dispensation, which he afterwards sent; whether he was afraid, that if he should refuse it obstinately, they would slight it; or else that he was convinc'd with the Reasons had been given him. There was yet in *England* some difficulty on the Articles which *France* suppos'd she might obtain, and upon which the Dispensation was grounded. But, in fine, the King of *England* consented to what was desired, and the Articles were sign'd the 20th. of *November*, 1624. by the Cardinal *de Richlieu* and the Ambassadors. The King sent *la Villeaux Clers* to *London*, to take of the King of *Great Britain*, and the Prince of *Wales*, the Oaths which we have mention'd; They took them between his hands, and further swore to release all the Catholick Prisoners, as soon as the Marriage was consummated; and to prohibit for the future their being ill treated for their Religion. They gave also * both of them a Promise in Writing, by which they bound themselves by no way or means whatsoever, to oblige the Princess to change her Religion.

* *Siri Mem.*
in *Rec.* T. 5.
P. 695.

* *An' vj Vie*
du Cardinal,
lib. 11. c. 1.

The Cardinal *de Richlieu* *, to prevent all Contests which might arise by means of this Alliance, between the *English* and the *French*, as at other times had hapned, oblig'd Madam to renounce all Successions, both direct and collateral, which might accrue to her, for which there was to be given her in Marriage 800000 Crowns. He also took care that the Princess's House should be compos'd of as great a number of Officers, as any Queen of *England* ever had: That her Dowry should be Sixty thousand Crowns *per Annum*, which should be assign'd her upon Lands, one of which should be a Dutchy or Earldom: That if she should become a Widow, she should have her choice to stay in *England*, or to come into *France*, whether she had Children or no; and that in case she return'd thither, the King of *England* should be oblig'd to cause her to be conducted at his Charges, with Honours agreeable to her Quality, as far as *Calais*.

After

After this manner was this Marriage concluded, which afterwards prov'd fatal to *Charles I.* King of *England*. King *James* his Father, and this Prince, were both overseen in their Politicks, in seeking this Alliance with the Infanta, and a Daughter of *France*; as if there had been no other Women in the World, and as if the good of their Kingdom, and the Desire of their Subjects, did indispensibly oblige them to look out for one that was a Catholic. It was truly enough said, That by taking this course, they betray'd themselves to so great disadvantages, that to marry a Daughter of *Spain* or *France*, they must be forc'd to submit to the meanest and basest things imaginable; such were the Oaths which were exacted from them: The liberty which they gave the Princess, that the Prince of *Wales* should suffer his Children which he should have by her, to be brought up in her Religion; and before all this, the Voyage which the Prince made into *Spain*, without knowing whether he should obtain the Infanta. In the mean time, he drew no assistance from *France* in his greatest Necessities; nay, he was embroil'd with her; and perhaps it had been yet worse, if he had espoused the Infanta. His Subjects were extremely averse to the Popish Party, nor enduring he should sell, as we may say, the Religion of his Children, and his own Conscience, he then making profession to be a Protestant. There were in *Germany* divers Protestant Princesses, with whom indeed he could not have had Eight hundred thousand Crowns; but who would have kept peace in his Estates, and procur'd the love of his Subjects. But as this Match was against all the Maxims of good Policy, so it drew upon himself those Mischiefs, which no King succeeding to an hereditary Crown perhaps ever fell into; and his Sons born of that Marriage, and seduced by their Mother's Persuasions, have been Most unfortunate since his Death. Several People indeed were of Opinion, that Cardinal *de Richlieu*, who was then contriving a War against the House of *Austria*, sent the Princess *Henrietta Maria* into *England*, as an Apple of Dissention, which would create so much trouble in *England*, as would incapacitate them from meddling with their Neighbours Affairs.

I would not interrupt the Series of this Negotiation, to

1624. speak of two other things which gave this Cardinal work enough at the beginning of his Ministry: The one was the Disgrace of the Marquis *de la Vieville*, and the other the Business of the *Valteline*, which employ'd the Court a long time; and the principal Transactions of which Affair I shall relate, as soon as I have given an account of the Fall of that new Minister.

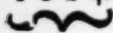
Without any Merit to distinguish him from the rest of the World, he had at a leap, by the easiness of the King, obtain'd so great a Power, that he govern'd not only the Treasury, but the State, though almost all the Court hated him. He made his Authority appear, by the manner of treating Colonel *d'Ornano*, Monsieur's Governour. It will not be amiss to give a short relation of this Affair because, as this Prince had a great share in the Brouilleries of the Grantees in Cardinal *Richlieu's* Ministry, we shall better understand the Original of it, if we can come to know how he was educated.

Gaston, in the Year 1615. going out of the hands of Madam *de Montglas*, * Governante of the Children of France, was committed to the Tuition of *De Breves* his Governour, as being a vertuous Man, and well-seen in the World, by the many Embassies, in which he had acquitted himself very well. He took so much care in the Education of the Duke of *Orleans*, that that Prince, in a very little time, made a very great progress in all things which can be requir'd in a Person of his Quality: His Wit was admir'd, his Discourse, and the obliging manner, with which he receiv'd all Persons who address'd themselves to him. But as Courtiers, who generally abandon themselves to Vices, dread the Vertues of Princes, which they find opposite to their Designs, *De Breves* soon had the Grief to be remov'd from the Person of Monsieur, at the time when he was most necessary to him. He is told he must retire, a little after the Death of the Marechal *d'Ancre*, in 1617. and to get such an Order from the King, they had taken care to make him jealous of the good Qualities of his Brother, who, some Persons affirmed, had more Wit, and better Education than he. In the interim, in a Council which was held at the Chancellor *Sillery's*, where were present *du Vair*, *Villeroy*, and the President *Jeannin*, it was

* *Siri Mem.*
Rec. T. 5.
p. 6-8.

was concluded to find another Governour for Monsieur : They call'd *De Breves* before them ; and after they had given him abundance of Praises, for the great care he had taken in the Education of that Prince, they told him, That his Majesty would have him take no further pains, without giving him any manner of reason. The Chancellor added, That he had Orders from the King to tell him, that he was perfectly satisfied with him ; and for a proof of it, his Majesty made him a present of Fifty thousand Crowns, to be paid in three Years out of the Treasury, and gave him a Warrant for Six thousand Livres Pension. *Luines*, willing to assure himself of the Person of Monsieur, gave him the Count *de Lude* for Governour, who had been his own Domestick. This new Governour had, in a little time, rooted out all the Seeds of Vertue, which *de Breves* had endeavour'd to sow in the Mind of the Prince ; and being addicted to Pleasure, left the care of the Prince's Education to his Sub-Governour, whose gross and brutish Manners entirely corrupted young *Gaston*, who so accusom'd himself to Swearing under this Man, that he never could leave off that ill habit. The Count *de Lude* dying about the end of the Year 1619. they made *Ornano*, Colonel of the Guards of *Corfi*, and the King's Lieutenant-General in *Normandy*, Governour to Monsieur : He was a Man of great Qualities, and did all he could to cure him of the ill habits which the Prince, drown'd in Voluptuousness, had contracted, and had no ill success, which seem'd now to be of the greatest importance ; the King then having no Children, it might happen that *Gaston* should succeed to the Crown. In the sequel, *Ornano* suggested to him, to demand of the King to be admitted into the Privy-Council, that he might enter there himself by the favour of his Master. To gain the better on his Spirit, he began to be more indulgent to him, and to have a greater Complaisance for him. The Marquis *de la Vieville*, though in the Declination of Favour, perceiving the Designs of the Colonel, work'd so with the King, that he was apprehended, and sent Prisoner to *Caen* in *Normandy*, whatever *Gaston* could do to obtain his liberty. At the same time his Majesty ordain'd *Despreaux* to be his Governour, who had been his own Sub-Governour whilst he

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he was Dauphin, and depended wholly on his Majesty: But this was but for a small time; for after the Marquis *de Vieville's* disgrace, the King, induced by the Intreaties of Monsieur, gave *Ornano* his liberty and re-admission to his old Post. All the fault of his Imprisonment was thrown on the disgraced Minister, as if the King, who had given the Orders for his Arrest, had had no hand in it.

* Mem. de
Bassomp. T. 2.
p. 312.

La Vieville had yet Credit enough before he fell, to recall the Count of *Tillieres*, Ambassador in *England*, and Brother-in-Law to the Marechal de *Bassompierre* his Enemy. * He feign'd to be at difference with the Ambassadors of his Majesty of *Great Britain*, and labour'd for an Agreement between them, that *Tillieres* might be recall'd, and *D'Effiat*, a great Friend of the Earl of *Carlisle's*, sent in his stead. It was said, That *Tillieres* was not fit for that Court, because he was too much a Friend to the Jesuits, who were hated in *England*; but the principal reason was, a Letter which he had written to the King; by which he gave him notice, that the Queen his Mother, without his knowledge, was treating in *England*, about the Marriage of Madam, by Persons intermediate; which so provok'd the Queen-Mother, that she destroy'd his Reputation with the King. *D'Effiat* arriv'd at *London* in *July*; and his principal Commission was, to discover if King *James* had really left off dealing with *Spain*, and meant the Marriage of his Son with Madam sincerely; for it was still doubted in *France*. His Instructions gave him the Title of Ambassador in Ordinary; but they afterwards gave him that of Extraordinary. In the mean time he was recall'd whilst he was on his way; and as he had represented that he might better serve the King, if he were restor'd, they granted it to him again by a Letter of the 31st of *July*. These Alterations in a thing of so little Consequence, denoted a great inequality in the Council, of which the Cardinal had not yet taken the entire management, as afterward he did.

* Siri Mem.
Rec. T. 5. P.
628. Bassomp.
T. 2. p. 315.

Although very few Persons * loved the Marquis *De la Vieville*; yet it was believ'd that the Cardinal of *Ricblieu* was his principal Enemy, who could not suffer a Person above him in the Council, and who perceiv'd the

the Marquis oppos'd his Designs. The King dissembled less with this Minister than with others whom he had disgrac'd, and shew'd plainly that he was displeas'd with him ; insomuch that he himself resign'd his Charge of Superintendent into the King's Hands, and the Place which he had in the Council, and desir'd his Permission to take leave. But at his going out the Marquis was apprehended by the Count *de Thermes*, Captain of the Guards, and the King's Musqueteers carried him in a Coach to the Castle of *Amboise* ; out of which place he afterwards made his escape.

The Reasons of his Disgrace, such I mean as were publish'd, were, that he took too much Authority upon him ; and that of his own Head he had determin'd Affairs of the greatest Importance ; That he had sent Orders on the same account to the King's Ambassadors, and given Answers to those of other Princes, without consulting the King or his other Ministers ; That he had chang'd the Orders given in the King's Presence, and charg'd the King of many Injustices, which himself had been guilty of to satisfy his own Passions : *Beaumarchez* his Father-in-Law, and Treasurer of the Exchequer, was suspended from his Office, and confined to one of his Houses.

The King afterwards gave Commission for their Tryals, and it was hop'd they might draw in the good Man, *Beaumarchez*, who was very rich. But the *Mareschal de Vitry*, his other Son-in-Law, obtain'd that his Name might be taken out of the Commission, and that only *La Vieville* and his Accomplices should be named. It was pretended, that it could be made out that he had cheated the King, because he had bought, since he was Superintendant, Lands worth Fourteen thousand Livres in Rent : But it was not difficult to prove, that he might make this Purchase out of his own Lands, and the Sale of some Offices which he had. He was accus'd to have given eight hundred thousand Livres to his Father-in-Law : But *Beaumarchez* made it appear, that he had lent them to the King, after his Son became Superintendant. Whatsoever they could do, they could not find any misapplications in the Treasury, to charge him with.

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It was reported, that while he was in favour he endeavour'd to secure himself of the Support of the Queen-Mother, and become her Favourite as well as the King's; and seeing that the Cardinal enjoy'd that place with the Queen which he desired, he had the boldness to represent to that Princess, that she might be absolute Master of the King and all the Court if she would rid her self of the Cardinal; who not being belov'd by the King, was the reason why he did not place an entire Confidence in her. He offer'd to serve the Queen as well as the Cardinal could do: But she perceived it was more for his envying that she kept this Prelate in her Service than to augment her Authority. This was the beginning of his Ruin, which was daily endeavour'd, when it was found that he design'd to rule solely in the King's Favour and his Mother's. It happened that some of the Courtiers spoke much in praise of the Cardinal, in reporting to the King at his going to Bed, and when he was hunting, many things which this Prelate had done or said for his Service; of which a great part were Inventions. *La Vieville*, who perceiv'd this Design of those who made use of this Artifice, said one day to the King, That the Cardinal indeed was a Person of great Parts, and very capable to serve his Majesty; but withal, so imperious and haughty, that if he should put the Administration of Affairs into his Hands, he must ask him leave to go a hunting. This pass'd before the Cardinal was receiv'd into the Council; and *la Vieville* was so imprudent as to assist to raise this Prelate to that Post, in a time when the manner of his exercising the Charge of Superintendent, had rendered him odious to a great many People, whose Pensions he had retrench'd.

The King caus'd the King of *England* to be advertis'd of the Disgrace of the Superintendent; which gave no small Alarm at that Court, because it was believ'd, that since he, who had first negotiated the Affair of the Marriage, was disgrac'd, it was a sign that *France* would break the Match. There were, besides, some other Circumstances which confirmed his Majesty of *Great Britain* in this Opinion; which was, That they would not approve of the Articles of the Marriage, as they had been

been order'd by *Carlisle* and *Vieville*. This later having said, That they demanded an Article in favour of the *English* Catholicks merely for Form, the Ambassadors omitted it ; and *Vieville* having pass'd it over, without telling any Person, the King and the other Ministers refus'd to approve of this Retrenchment, and said, That *Vieville* had releas'd this Article without Order. The King of *England* presently look'd upon this as a Denyal, and for a Sign that they would break the Negotiation ; but having after found the contrary, he renew'd it, and agreed to all, as we have already said.

To come now to the Affair of the *Valteline*, the Reader must be inform'd, that in the time of *Henry IV.* the *Spaniards* had endeavour'd to obtain a free Passage from *Italy* into *Germany*, for the reciprocal Communication of the Estates of the House of *Austria*. For this they had built in the *Valteline*, the Fort of *Fuentes*, that the *Grisons* to whom the *Valteline* belong'd, might not be capable to dispute their Passage when need requir'd. *France* and *Italy* were very much alarm'd on this occasion, fearing that the House of *Austria* was just on the point to execute some considerable Enterprize. But the *Spaniards* declar'd, That they had built this Fort only to protect the Catholick Religion in the *Valteline*, which they said was there oppress'd by the *Grisons* Protestants. It was soon after made visible, that this Discourse was only to lull the Princes of *Italy* asleep, since they built four other Forts ; and having rais'd the Catholick *Grisons*, made themselves absolute Masters of all the Valley. Then the Council of *France* believ'd that it was time to look about them in good earnest, having yet employ'd only the way of Treaties and Negotiations, wherein the *Spaniards* promis'd what they desir'd, but perform'd nothing. They had long Conferences with the Ambassadors of *France* at *Rome* ; and the Holy See was taken up many Years to reconcile the two Crowns : But the *Spaniards* were resolv'd at any rate to preserve the Passage which they had open'd ; and the *French* were no less obstinate to hinder the Communication of the Estates of the House of *Austria*, by which it became too formidable both in *Germany* and *Italy* ; and there was no way left to procure an Agreement. Upon this

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this a League was made between the King of *France*, the Republick of *Venice*, and the Duke of *Savoy*, concluded at *Paris* the 7th of *February*, 1623. by which these three Powers oblig'd themselves to set on Foot (until the *Valteline* was wholly recover'd) an Army of Thirty six thousand Foot, and Six thousand Horse. This League put the *Spaniards* into such a fright, that they thought it their best way to deposite the Forts of the *Valteline* in the Hands of the Pope. By this Artifice they rendred the League abovemention'd useles, they avoid-ed the War with which they were threatned, and engag'd his Holiness to their Party, and more easily persuaded him, that their Zeal for the Catholick Religion had engag'd them to build the Forts then in dispute. In the mean time they had the Passage open as they had desir'd, and hoped to withdraw those Forts out of the Hands of the Pope, as soon as the League made against them should be dissolv'd. Many things interven'd while this Affair was on foot, which I shall pass by; 'tis sufficient to observe, that the Cardinal of *Richlieu* entring into his Ministry, found it in this Posture.

As for him, he judg'd it requisite, that the King should do himself reason by the way of force, since the prolonging of Treaties made whatsoever was done ineffectual. * He did not hide his Sentiments from the Nuncio; to whom he said one Day, That the King and Council now resolved to see this Affair ended in a few Months; and that the Council would act more steadily, since it had a Head now that was not inconstant like the former. In effect, the Marquis of *Cœuvres* was sent into *Switzerland* in Quality of Ambassador Extraordinary, with * Instructions which directed him, that if this Affair was not suddenly accommodated, to raise Three thousand *Grisons*, and Three thousand *Swissers*, and to make a Descent upon the *Valteline*. The Forces of the League were also to be ready to march by the 15th of *September*, to act before Winter. The Confederate Princes had many Reasons to make hast, since without that, the *Swissers* and the *Grisons*, who expected to be presently deliver'd from the *Spanish* Yoak, would grow cold when they found too much delay; and that the Arch-Duke *Leopold*, and the Governour of *Milan*, would not fail in the

* *Siri Mem.*
Rec. T. 5.
p. 635.

* In the Month
of June.

the Winter to seize on all the Passages. and fortifie them well ; so that it would be very difficult to force them. In the Interim, as the time was but short, Orders were given to the Count of *Bethunes*, to press the Pope and the *Spaniards* strongly, and to use sometimes Remonstrances, and sometimes Threats, to make the last to desist from maintaining the Passages of the *Valteline*.

But these instances signified nothing ; and the Marquis de *Cœuvres* had Orders to hasten his Levies, and get all things ready for execution. The Levies being made, a difficulty presented it self, which embarrass'd him for some time, which was, whether he should demand Passage at the Diet of *Baden*. For although by the Alliance of the *Swissers* with the Crown, they were oblig'd to give him free Passage, it was to be fear'd lest the Nuncio and the Ambassador of *Spain*, whom the Catholick Cantons favour'd, should prevail with them to oppose it, and that this refusal might spoil the Design. In fine, he resolv'd not to demand it of the Catholicks, but when he took it, and to speak then only to the Protestants, who would agree to it, only on condition that the King should assist them as occasion should require. The Nuncio and the Ambassador of *Spain* forgot not any Artifice to stop the design of *Cœuvres* ; and to gain time, gave him hopes, that the Affair might be agreed at *Rome*. But he proceeded with the same vigour as before, and fix'd the rising, as it was agreed with the *Grisons*, on the 26th of *October*.

At the same time the Nuncio *Spada* * made sharp Remonstrances to the King upon this Enterprize, which, he said, would shed much Catholick Blood in behalf of the Protestants ; whereas he ought to consider how to destroy that Party in the Kingdom as he had happily begun. The King answer'd, That the *Spaniards* forc'd him to it, and that it should appear in all his Conduct, that he was as good a Catholick as they. The same Nuncio being with the Cardinal of *Richlieu*, this latter said to him, † speaking of the Affair of the *Valteline*, That *Vicville* had spoil'd all, in proposing Ways and Means to accommodate this difference ; and that he was the Cause that the *Spaniards* had not been reduc'd to reason. The Nuncio

* Sept. 24.

† *Sirs T. 3.*
Mém. Recend.
p. 663.

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Nuncio reply'd, in the way of Raillery, that he and the Cardinal *de Rochefoucaud* could not but be much puzzled in the Council, when they deliberated about such Matters, since they must at the same time fight with the *Spaniards*, and yet avoid falling into such an irregularity, as it was to be a favourer of Hereticks; which was a thing ill of it self, and therefore could not obtain a Dispensation. The Cardinal answer'd, That there was the same reason to grant him a Dispensation for the Charge of Councillor, as for that of Secretary; and as for what concern'd the Hereticks, the difference of the Case, and the end which was propos'd, chang'd the nature of things; and in this Affair he believ'd, he did not only the King, but God good Service, since he had studied, as he said, this Question, and found that the Case, as it was represented to the King, was such, that he would maintain, that nothing was done or thought of, which was not agreeable to the strictest Rules of Conscience; and that he would cause this Proposition to be subscrib'd by an hundred Doctors of the *Sorbon*.

* *Siri Mem.*
Rec. T. 5. p.
 669, & 704.

Whilst *Cæuvres* endeavour'd * to levy six thousand Men, of which we have spoken, the *Spaniards* intercepted some Letters of his to the Count *de Bethunes*, and some others of *Bethunes* to him; by which they understood the designs of the latter. They shew'd them to the Pope, and thereupon made a great noise at *Rome*, but took no measures to hinder it: Whether they imagin'd that it was nothing but an airy Project only to terrifie them; and that the *French* durst not put it in execution; or that they had not Sense enough to understand, that if they did not hasten their Succours, the *Valtelline* would be taken from them in spite of the Pope's Garrisons.

Whilst the *Spaniards* debated about this Affair at *Rome*, the Marquis *de Cæuvres* finish'd his Levies; and the Regiment of *Vaubecourt* being enter'd into *Switzerland*, march'd through it, in so much Order and Discipline, that they gave no occasion for Complaint. Being join'd to the new Troops rais'd in the Valley, and on the Lands of the Ecclesiastical Cantons, this little Army took its way to the *Valtelline*. In the mean time the Catholick Cantons deliberated at *Lucerne*, whether they should permit

permit the Passage or no, which without doubt they had refus'd, had the others demanded it, before they were ready, for fear they should draw upon themselves the Troops of the House of *Austria*. But the Army being on their march, the conclusion of all was, to send an Envoy to the King to entreat him, that no more Troops might be sent into their Country, for Reasons they would declare. The Army took its march towards the middle of the *Valtelline*, so that it kept in Alarm, *Chiavenne*, *Bormio*, *Tirano*, and the Fort de *Valmenastero*. Before it had advanc'd far, the Garrison of this last Fort, which was built in a Valley, and served for a Line of Communication between *Tiron* and the *Valtelline*, abandon'd it, taking with them the Cannon and the Ammunitions. This Garrison was commanded by an Officer of the Arch-Duke's Troops, who by deserting this Post so cowardly, without staying for the coming up of an Army which had no Cannon with it, gave opportunity to the Marquis de *Cœuvres* to sieze it, and entirely to shut up the Passage to the *Austrian* Troops, who could not advance that way. So happy a beginning fill'd the *French* General with Courage; but before he passed further, he caus'd the Passes which he left behind him to be fortified, that he might that way receive the Victuals which came out of *Switzerland*. Afterwards he went to *Maiensfeld*, and sent *Haraucourt*, Marechal de Camp, to draw together the People of the *Eight Rights*, who were ready to throw off the Yoak of the House of *Austria*. He conven'd a general Assembly of the *Grisons* at *Coire*, where he propos'd four things which he obtain'd; the first was, the re-union of the three Leagues which had embroil'd themselves, whom he easily persuaded to resume their ancient Liberty, and the Sovereignty of the *Valtelline*, which they enjoy'd before the last Wars. The second was, to renew the ancient Seats of the Leagues. The third was, a General Pardon, (which was to be granted to those of the *Valtelline*, who had taken Arms) and the liberty of Religion. The fourth was, that they should make an Alliance with the King only, excepting the Hereditary Peace with the House of *Austria*, and the Alliance which the *Swissers* had with them.

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* In the end
of November.

† Decemb. 11.

* Decemb. 11.

Being advanc'd a little farther, * he made himself Master of *Casavio*, *Poschiavo*, and *Bormio*, without using any Force. He found there that they had broken the Bridges which open'd to him the way into the midst of the *Valtelline*; and having repair'd them, although, as I said, he had no Cannon, he made a Shew as if he would attack *Platamalla*, a Fort built on a Rock by *Louis XII.* with a design to stop the Incurfions of the *Grifons*. The Garrison was so terrified at the sight only of their Enemies, that without attending a Summons, they abandon'd the Fort, and retreated farther into the *Valtelline*. The Army of the Marquis having taken Possession of it, march'd on daily, notwithstanding the Letters of *Nicholas Gui Marquis de Bagni*, General for the Pope in the *Valtelline*; by which he had vainly imagin'd that he might have stopp'd the Progress of *Cœuvres*, by putting him in mind of the Respect he ow'd to the Ensigns of his Holiness. There are no Persons who regard Ecclesiasticks less than those who know them to the bottom, as *Cœuvres*, who had been Ambassador at *Rome* for many Years. Thus he presently reduc'd the Pope's General to surrender † the Castle of *Tirano*, after he had taken the City by Composition. The timorous *Bagni* promis'd by the Capitulation, not to possess himself any more of any Fort of the *Valtelline*, and to send back the Garrison of *Tirano* into the Ecclesiastical State. *Cœuvres* going from thence to *Sondrio*, the City instantly yielded as *Tirano* had done; but the Castle held out about two Days, until they had spent about fifty Cannon Shot; * whose noise had so alarm'd the Commandant, that he talk'd of capitulating: The Soldiers, who desir'd the same, presently left the Ramparts; and the French seiz'd on them so briskly, that before they had come to Articles, the Castle was taken, and the Pope's Soldiers stripp'd. They gave them their Lives; and the French General, out of respect to the Pope, sent them back with their Ensigns to *Bagni*, although some of them had thrown themselves there after the Surrender of *Tirano*, contrary to the Capitulation. The French, by the Reduction of *Sondrio*, were in capacity to advance as far as the Fort of *Fuentes*, which was at the other end of the *Valtelline*, to observe the motion of some

Spanish

Spanish Troops, who lay posted along the Lake of *Côme*, 1624. and whereof six Companies were enter'd into *Riva* and *Nova*. But the Weather was too cold, and the Passages of the Mountains were too hard to be forc'd to make a new attempt. Thus the *French* found themselves Masters of almost all the *Valteline*, without shedding any Blood of their own or of the Popes Troops. The Duke of *Feria*, Governour of *Milan*, whose assistance *Bagni* had desir'd, and who ought to have had Troops on the Frontiers, ready to march at the first notice, took no care to send them until it was too late, according to the Custom of the *Spaniards*, who deliberate when they should be in action; and make a bustle when it is too late to do good. *Bagni*, a Man both without Courage and Experience, with the Troops rais'd in the Ecclesiastical State, where no body is advanc'd by Feats of Arms, and where the Profession of War is unknown, found himself incapable to make the least resistance, and by his retreat made it appear, that he was mistaken in depending on himself or his Soldiers.

In the interim, the *Venetian* Army was on the Frontiers of *Tirol*, to hinder the Arch-Duke from undertaking any thing, and to succour the *French* if occasion requir'd; but many difficulties interven'd, which render'd the *Venetian* Troops useles on this occasion. It was the same with Count *Mansfield*, who was to have brought an Army of twenty thousand Men into *Germany*, compos'd principally of *Engliss*, with some Auxiliary Troops of *France* and the United Provinces, to reconquer the Palatinate, or at least to winter on the Lands of the House of *Austria* in *Germany*. Neither *France* nor *England* would declare themselves openly against *Spain*, so as to come to a breach with that Crown; although *England* was willing to make a Rupture with the Emperour. There was yet more difficulties for the Passage and Payment of these Troops; the *French* would not let them pass through their Territories; and the King of *England* would not have them cross the *Spanish* Netherlands. *France* had also made a Project, to send the Constable of *Lesdiguières*, to joyn with a Body of *French* Troops, and some Forces of the Duke of *Savoy*, to attack the *Genoeses*, to support the Pretensions which the Duke had upon

1625. *Zuccarello*, which the *Genouese* kept; and if it were possible, to take *Genoa* it self. The Duke of *Savoy*, and the *Venetians*, would fain have had the *French* to make an open Breach with the *Spaniards*, and to enter into the *Milanese*: But although the Cardinal, who was become the principal Minister, did think effectually to make War against *Spaniards*, yet he thought it not convenient to declare his Design as yet. This was the Action which passed this Year; and the *French* were contented to render themselves Masters of the greatest part of the *Valteline*, without enterprizing any thing else, notwithstanding the Instances of the Confederates.

Yet in the mean time, the Design of the Cardinal was to make War on the House of *Austria*, whose Greatness seem'd to over-shadow *France*; and he made no scruple to say, before those whom he could trust, That to make an assured Peace, *Spain* was to be brought to it, not by Treaties, but by Arms. Were it that he believ'd that the good of the State requir'd it or not, it was his particular Interest quickly to do something remarkable, which might be for the Honour of his Ministry, and to take from the *French* the Opinion they had conceiv'd, That when Affairs were in the hands of a Bishop and a Cardinal, the Council must necessarily incline to Peace. The Marquis of *Mirabel*, Ambassadour of *Spain*, understood very well the Designs of this Principal Minister, who treated with the Ambassadours of *England*, of *Venice*, of the *United Provinces*, and of *Savoy*, to induce these Powers to act against the House of *Austria* in several places at the same time; whilst he protested to the Envoy of *Flanders*, to the Agent of *Bavaria*, and to all those who were concern'd in the Affairs of that House, in *France*, or with its Allies, that the King endeavour'd nothing more than to entertain a Peace with her: That

* Ambassadour therefore resolv'd to complain to the Cardinal himself, whom he visited on that occasion: He gave him to understand, that he perfectly knew all that had pass'd; and grew so warm upon it, that he told him, that it was a strange and scandalous thing, that by the Counsel of an Ecclesiastick and a Cardinal, all the Hereticks of *Europe* should be succour'd against the Catholics,

* About the middle of Decemb. See *Siri, Mem. Rec. T. 5. p. 741.*

tholicks, and above all on such occasions which in any manner regarded Religion: That this smelt of a *Lutheran*: That for his sake he had patience till then, in hopes the Cardinal would in time moderate himself; but finding that these Designs to assist the Hereticks were ready to be executed, he could no longer keep silence; that he thought himself at last obliged to discharge his Conscience; and the rather, since by being silent, he should injure the Affairs of his Master, in whose Name he protested before GOD, against all the Evil which might happen to Christendom. The Cardinal provoked with this Discourse, answer'd, That he knew very well the difference between an Affair of Religion, and an Affair of State: That as he was a Priest, Cardinal, and good Catholick, born in *France*, where there are no Mungrels, and moreover, Minister of the most Christian King, he ought not, nor could not propose to himself any other prospect, than the Conservation of his Majesty's Grandeur, and not the Interests of the King of *Spain*, which were known to tend to the Universal Monarchy, and to give no Bounds to his Desires: That he would no longer hide his Sentiments thereupon to the Ambassadour of his Catholick Majesty, since, in fine, it was time to take off the Mask. Others give account of this Conversation something differently: Be it as it will, the Marquis de *Mirabel* perceiving that he was too much transported before he went from him, made Excuses to the Cardinal, which caused him to understand, that these Discourses had not been premeditated, but was purely the effect of the Ambassador's Choler.

After the Conclusion of the Peace with the *Huguenots*, there was no care taken for the razing of *Fort-Lewis*, which was a thousand Paces from *Rochelle*, though they were engag'd to do it by one of the Articles of the Treaty of *Montpellier*. The *Rochellers* got it to be represented to the King several times; but after he had heard their Complaints, there were nothing but fair Words given them. Instead of staying till the King was engaged in a War with *Spain*, as in all appearance he would suddenly be, and pressing him in that Conjuncture, when necessity would have oblig'd him to keep his Word with them, they would needs do themselves Justice*: They

1625. therefore gave some Ships to *Soubise*, who went to *Blavet* to surprize seven Vessels of the King's which were in that Port. But as he thought to retire, the Wind chang'd, and gave them hopes that he might be taken himself. The Duke of *Vendôme* run thither, with all the Nobility of *Britany*; but the Wind changing again, disengag'd *Soubise*, who retreated in spight of the Cannon of the Castle. Of seven great Ships, he carried away six, but left one of his own, which had embarras'd herself with the seventh, at the mouth of the Haven, where touching on a Bank, they both stuck fast. The *Rochellers* afterwards essay'd to besiege the Fort, which incommoded them; but not having been able to take it readily, they gave over that Enterprize, for fear of drawing the King's Army upon them. During this Action, which they thought would oblige the Court to raze the Fort, to retrive the Ships which had been taken; but it succeeded not.

At the beginning of the Year, the Pope sent *Bernardin Nari*, to complain on his behalf about the Business of the *Valteline*, with the Nuncio *Spada*: They did it with extraordinary Exaggerations, as if all had been lost, because the Pope had the *Valteline* no longer in deposite. The King, the Queen-Mother, and some of the Ministers told them, That *Cavour*s had done more than his Orders would bear; but that they were ready to dispose all things to his Holiness's satisfaction: Which was not true. But the Cardinal answer'd them with more resolution, * laughing at the heat and eagerness which the Nuncio had shown in this Affair. The conclusion of his Speech was, That all that the King could do, was either to deliver the Forts of the *Valteline* to the Pope, on condition that his Holiness should promise, by Writing, or by Word of mouth, That he would, in a short time to be prefix'd, demolish them; or to agree a Neutrality to his Holiness; in which case they promised to make him such Propositions as should give him cause to be satisfied. The Ministers of the Pope were satisfied with neither of these Particulars; and the Cardinal told them, That if the Transaction had been solely for the Pope's Interests, the King would not meddle, that he might have reason to be contented with him; but it

was

* January 15.

was a Question which concerned the Interests of the *Spaniards*, who were ready to triumph at the least advantage they had over the Arms of the King. Upon this, *Spada* and *Nari* said, That they would of necessity reduce the Pope to do things disagreeable to *France*, if there was not satisfaction made him. The Cardinal, who perfectly knew the Court of *Rome*, replied, smiling. He knew very well that the Pope never thought to let things come to extremity; and that if he saw it, he should not believe it: That he knew the contrary; and that the *Spaniards* were ready to remit their Pretensions into the hands of the Pope, and would give him a Million of Gold, provided he could but deliver them out of their present Perplexities. He added many things to this, to signify his Aversion to the *Huguenots*; and said, That he hoped in two Years wholly to ruine them: That the *Spaniards* entertain'd a secret Commerce with them, that they might, by such Artifices, divert *France* from other Designs; but they should never carry things so as to oblige them to make a disadvantageous Treaty.

Many Councils were held on the Complaint of the Pope's Agents, to seek out ways for the Pope's satisfaction, although they were resolv'd to follow the Advice of the Cardinal, who would no way recede from what he had propos'd. From this moment, this Prelate was Master of the Resolutions, the King being content to express himself in general terms, and to remit himself as for the rest to his Council, and no body resisted the Cardinal, supported by the Authority of the Queen-Mother. The Count *de Bethunes* had advis'd *Nari*, to endeavour to get from the King's mouth some favourable Word for the Court of *Rome*, to the end that being oblig'd to give it satisfaction, it would then be impossible to go back: But the King avoid'd that Affair, only making general Protestations of the great Respect and Consideration he had for his Holiness; and the good Prince durst not answer afterward any things positively, without the Advice of the Council, that is to say, of the Cardinal.

A few days after the Conversation *, the Nuncio be- * *January 22*
ing return'd to see the Cardinal, to endeavour to dis-

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cover the Designs of the Court, he found this Prelate in the same Disposition as before. The Cardinal added moreover to what he had said, That if in six Months these *Broilleries* between the Crowns of *France* and *Spain* were not accommodated, all *Europe* would be in a flame; and what was the worst, *Spain* would be all embroil'd; the King would be constrain'd to make Peace with the *Huguenots*, not being able to order so many Affairs at once: But if the Crowns were accommodated, the King would himself make a Campaign against them, it not being possible to find a better occasion to declare War against them. As for him, he was surpriz'd that *Neri* had no Orders to make any Propositions to reconcile these Differences, and spoke of nothing but the restitution of Forts, which were the occasion of them. At last, speaking of bringing the War into *Italy* against the *Spaniards*, concerning which he had hinted some things in another Conversation with the same Ministers of the Pope, he said, That the King had great Designs on that side, and sufficient Forces to bring things to pass; and that they thought to bestow half the Kingdom of *Naples* on his Holiness. The Nuncio thereupon replied, That *France* might make a Present to the Pope, which would not cost her so dear, and which might perhaps save her a great deal of trouble; and that was, to give his Holiness the *Valtelline*, which was then in dispute. *We also will give it*, replied the Cardinal, *provided the Pope assist us in our Designs; otherwise it is not just that we should weaken our Allies, instead of helping them to what of right belongs to them, as we have promised.* The Nuncio answer'd, That *France* wanted not the means to indemnifie them; and that by making this Present to the Pope, she would prevent several Inconveniences: That the Cardinal would regain the good Opinion which they had already conceived of his Piety, and re-establish at the same time the Reputation of the Court of *Rome*: That the Guard of the Passage of the *Valtelline*, could not be given to a Prince that had more Interest for the Repose of *Italy* than the Pope; and that it proceeded from his care to preserve that Repose; which had put the *French* in motion, as they said themselves. The Cardinal, instead of returning an Answer, took

took upon him to justify the Conduct of *France*, and passed to something else. 1625.

About this time he took one Father *Joseph*, a *Capucin*, to be his Confessor, with a design to employ him more in the Affairs of State, than in what related to his Conscience; he began presently to intermeddle, as well as Father *Jacynthe*, who took care of the Affairs of the Elector of *Bavaria*. The Nuncio seeing it, wrote this Judgment to the Cardinal-Patron: That he might make Father *Joseph* an honest Man; but he was sure at best, that he had a Gift in Negotiation, though he was full of Tricks. He was, as *Spada* judg'd, entirely the Cardinal's, and more proper to confirm abroad the Sentiments of this Prelate, than to draw him to his own, and change his Thoughts *. And the Ambassador of *Sweden* in *France* observ'd in one of his Letters, that the Cardinal made use of this Monk to hammer out Negotiations, and to sweeten the Discontents of those with whom he treated, and to ripen Affairs before this Prelate interven'd. In this Post that Monk acquitted himself well enough; but observed ill the Rule of his Institution; so that he was reproached, that for the Glory of God, and the Good of the State, he forsook his Convent, and went ordinarily in a Coach. He was very serviceable to the Cardinal, in sending to the Nuncio from him, and bringing back what the Nuncio said. He was farther employ'd to form some Articles concerning the State and Religion of the *Valteline*, which were sent to *Rome*; and People talked of sending him thither in a Coach, to treat with his Holiness. But this Project, and many others, were stifled. It was only agreed, with a great deal of difficulty, on the part of *France*, that a suspension of Arms should be in the *Valteline* for two Months; but this suspension not being concluded till *February*, gave time to *Cauvres*, on the 17th. of *January*, to take the Fort *Bormio*, and the Castle of *Chiavenne* the 9th. of *March*, before he had news of the suspension of Arms. The Council had a design, by this delay, to give time to the Marquis de *Cauvres*, to gain, if it were possible, the rest of the *Valteline*; being perswaded that the more he got, the more advantageous would the Treaty then on foot be. As if it was not known what would be the
issue

* *Hug. Grot.*
Ep. P. I. p.
375. & 380.

1625. issue of this Affair, the King gave Orders to *Cœuvres*, to suspend the Advantages he had gotten over the *Spaniards*; to fortifie what he held, and to prepare Materials necessary for the fortification of what remain'd to be taken, in case, after the suspension, he should happen to become Master of them. Although the Pope's Ministers made tragical Complaints at *Paris*; yet *Urban VIII.* continu'd to treat at the ordinary rate with the *French* Ambassador; which made it be believ'd, that the Pontiff did not take the Affair of the *Valteline* much to heart. Besides, it was known in *France*, that if they seem'd to fear the Complaints of the Nuncio, they would increase daily; and if one despise them, they cease of themselves. The Court of *Rome* always renders it self valuable to those who make too much of it, and participates the fear with those who resist it. It was this which spoil'd the pathetick Remonstrances of *Spada* and *Nari* at the Court of *France*. In the mean time, the Second was re-call'd, and the Pope declar'd his Nephew, Cardinal *Francis Barberini*, Legate à *Latere*, to come thither and accommodate these Disputes, and endeavour to obtain a Peace to the Republick of *Genoua*, which the Army of the Duke of *Savoy*, join'd to that of the King, attack'd at the beginning of the Campaigne, as we come now to declare.

The Constable of *Lesdignieres*, and the Marechal de *Crequi* his Son-in-Law, appointing the Rendezvous at *Susa* in the Month of *October*, to confer there with the Duke *Charles Emanuel*, there agreed on divers Articles, some of which were form'd in presence of the Ambassador of *Venice*, and concern'd the League of which I have already spoken. These Articles were publish'd; but besides these, two Papers were signed, which were kept secret: The one, which regarded *Italy*, was to divert and hinder the *Spaniards* to march with their Forces for the succour of the *Valteline*. *Genoua* was to be attack'd under pretext, as hath been said, of *Zuccarello*, an Imperial Fief, on the confines of *Liguria* and *Piedmont*. The Duke pretended to have it, because the *Carretti*, who possess'd that Marquisate, had done Homage to *Lewis* Duke of *Savoy*, unto the Year 1448. and because *Charles Emanuel* had purchased it of *Scipio del Carretto*, in 1588. The *Genouese*, on the contrary, maintain'd,

rain'd, That that Marquisate had been re-united to the Empire, by a Decree of the Emperour, of the 10th. of December, in the Year 1622. as well because of the Alienation which *Scipio del Carretto* would have made, as also because of the Excesses by him committed against the Authority of the Emperour, and consequently of that Decree; they had bought that Land, which they kept in their possession till that time.

Upon this Foundation the Duke of *Savoy* believ'd he had right to make War upon the *Genouese*; and it was he who ought to declare it, the King of *France* only furnishing him with Succours which he stood in need of. They agreed together about the Number of Troops, Canon, Victuals, Vessels, and other things necessary to conquer the State of *Genoua*, which they look'd upon as easie. This was what was contain'd in one of the Writings; and in the other, the Duke of *Savoy*, who is accus'd to have made many such Projects, already parted the Spoils of the *Genouese*. It was made after this manner:

I.

' That *Genoua* being taken, it shall remain in the hands of Madam and the Prince of *Piedmont*, to hold it in Deposite in the Name of the King and Duke, with a Garison of half *French* and half *Savoyards*.

II.

' That nevertheless the City of *Genoua*, and all the State, should be remitted to his Majesty, as soon as he had consign'd to his Highness *Milan*, and the best part of the *Milanese*; and that the King of *France* should possess *Liguria*, excepting the Marquisate of *Zuccarello*, and that which is in the great way of *Ormée* and *Oriville*, and all other Lands, from that way unto the County of *Nice*, which should remain unto his Highness.

III.

' That in case *Genoua* remain'd to the King, with the Kingdom of *Corfica*, and the State of *Genoua* on the East-side, the Duke was to have that on the West.

IV. ' But

1625.

IV.

‘ But if the Kingdom of *Corfica* should be freely remitted to his Highness, and all the *Riviera* of *Genoua* towards the West; the City of *Genoua*, and all the *Riviera* to the East-side should belong to his Majesty.

V.

‘ That if his Highness were put in possession of *Montferrat*, and the *Riviera* of *Genoua* toward the West; the City from *Genoua*, and all the *Riviera* towards the East, with the Kingdom of *Corfica*, should remain to the King.

VI.

‘ That if his Majesty shall think good to surrender to his Highness, all the Estates which he possessed before beyond the Mountains, and which his Majesty enjoy'd, and to give to him the City of *Geneva*; *Genoua* and all its Dependencies, except the Marquisate of *Zuccarello*, and the Lands specified in the 2d. Article, are to remain to the King.

VII.

‘ That whilst *Genoua* shall be in Deposite, the Revenues shall be divided between his Majesty and his Highness, the Garrison being first paid.

VIII.

‘ That the Booty shall be divided between them, equally between the Duke and the Constable, the Charges of the Armies being deducted.

The King accepted those Articles, retrenching the 5th. and the 6th. and putting in, That the Lieutenants of the Garrison should be *French*, but nam'd by the Duke of *Savoy*, and also making some other Alterations of little importance. This Writing was not communicated to the Ambassador of *Venice*; nor was the Republick press'd to be concern'd in this Enterprize, because they would not discover it to them. They only said, that the King and the Duke would attack the Dominions of the *Spaniards* in *Italy*, to the end that the *Venetians* might not be jealous.

As soon as the Treaty was made publick, all those who had any cognizance of the Interests of the Duke of *Savoy*,

Savoy, were astonish'd that Ambition should so far blind *Charles Emanuel*, that for to aggrandize himself, he would consent to have *France* his Neighbour, as well beyond as on this side the Mountains, and so become totally dependant on that Monarch. By establishing the *French* in *Italy*, and delivering *Genoua* and her Ports to them, they put them in a condition to trouble *Italy* when they pleas'd; and he was oblig'd, in pure good Manners, to attend till the King had taken for him a Moiry of the State of *Genoua* which should fall to him, as *Lewis XII.* had formerly taken half of the Lands of *Cremona* from the *Venetians*, after he had parted Stakes with them. Besides that, this was sufficiently clear of it self; Experience hath so well confirm'd the truth of it, that it was not to be doubted but the Duke of *Savoy* committed an unpardonable Fault in matter of Policy: The Town of *Pignerol* only, which *France* afterwards took from the Duke of *Savoy*, as you will see in the sequel of this History hath put *Piedmont* in the same Dependance as *Savoy*, which the King of *France* can conquer when he pleases.

As they design'd to besiege *Genoua* by Sea as well as by Land, a Fleet was necessarily to be provided. They sent into *England* and *Holland* for a good number of Ships. In *England* they had nothing but Words and good Hopes; but the *United Provinces* agreed to send Twenty Ships well arm'd and furnish'd for six Months, that should put to Sea by the end of *March*; and for their Payment, the Duke and Constable, who undertook this Conquest, engaged all their Fortunes; and the Contract imported, that the Fleet should remain at their Charges until the end of the Expedition.

The Marechal de *Crequi* brought the Articles to the King, and was with pleasure heard at Court on this Project, which the Council only did to fright the *Spaniards*, and hinder them from throwing themselves into the *Valtelline*. But the Duke, push'd on with heat, promis'd himself to be soon Master of a great part of the Territory of *Genoua*, and perhaps of the Dutchy of *Milan*. He rejoyc'd to see a War break out, as he had for a long time earnestly desired, between the two Crowns. The Council sent the Duke of *Crequi* to his Father-in-Law,

1625. Law, and agreed to all which in his Name was desired.

Although the King was oblig'd by the Treary, to send no more than three or four thousand Men into *Piedmont*, he consented that the Constable and the Mareschal de *Crequi* should pass the Mountains with Six thousand Foot, and Five hundred Horse. The Duke of *Savoy* was to have, according to an Article of the League with the King of *France*, Eight thousand Foot, and Two thousand Horse; and by virtue of the Treaty with that King and the Republick of *Venice*, Twelve thousand Foot and Six hundred Horse. All these Troops, join'd to those of the Constable, form'd an Army formidable to the Republick of *Genoua*.

Before he pass'd the Mountains, the Constable sent the Marquis d'*Uxelles*, Mareschal de *Camp*, to *Turin*, to assist at a Review of the Duke of *Savoy's* Army, and to see the Cannon and Ammunition design'd for the Siege of *Genoua*. The Duke shew'd him his Army, compos'd of Sixteen thousand able Men: But the Artillery was not in a very good condition, and the Provision and Ammunition too little for an Enterprize of that Consequence. The Marquis d'*Uxelles* easily perceiv'd it; but the Duke assur'd him so positively that nothing should be wanting, that he believ'd it was not to be doubted. The Constable came to *Turin* on the 2d. of *February*, with Ten thousand Foot, and Two thousand Horse, which was more than the King had promis'd; but he remonstrated to his Majesty, that it was not honourable for a Constable of *France* to pass the Mountains with a less Army. The King order'd him to leave Six thousand Men in *Bresse*, instead of taking with him all his Forces, excepting two Regiments, of which one went to the *Valteline*, and the other into *Dauphiné*. The strict Alliance which was between the House of *France* and that of *Savoy*, caus'd the King to order the Constable to receive the Orders from the Duke, when he was in the Army, and to leave it to him to give the Word. The Mareschal de *Crequi* was to have the same Respect for the Prince of *Piedmont*, without suffering it to be drawn in to a Precedent.

All the Troops being assembled together, a Review 1625.
was made of them at *Asti*, * where they were found to
be but twenty four thousand Foot, and three thousand
Horse effective, with twenty four Pieces of great Canon, and fourteen Field-pieces. Whilst they consulted
which way the Army should take, to enter into the State
of *Genoa*, the Duke of *Savoy* propos'd to make the Entry
by the *Milanese*, or by *Montferrat*, and to secure to
themselves one or two places for the passage of Victu-
als. But the *French* Generals, who had Orders from the
King not to touch the Dutchy of *Milan*, were for the
immediate Attack of *Savona*, a place that could make
little resistance, and which would be of great advantage
by reason of its Port, because that way they might have
all things they should want, come by Sea, and there they
might establish the Magazines of the Army. The Duke
of *Savoy* stumbled at this ; for as the Naval Army which
was to favour the attack of *Genoa*, was not yet come, he
fear'd that that of the *Spaniards* and *Genoefes*, would hin-
der any Relief to come from *Provence* to *Savona* : If that
happen'd, then they must have their Victuals out of *Pied-
mont* by Land ; and to secure that, it was necessary first
to seize the Passages, and to put good Garrisons in them,
for fear lest the *Spaniards* should cut off the Provisions
from the Army, as soon as this should be brought into
the State of *Genoa*. His opinion therefore was, that
they should pass through *Montferrat*, and sieze upon *Ai-
gui* and *Capriata*. The *French* reply'd, That on that side
the way was too long and too difficult, and that by that
March they should give time to the *Genoefes* to put them-
selves in a posture of defence ; whereas by marching on
the side of *Savona* they should infallibly surprize them ;
and the *Spaniards* hindring them of Victuals was little
to be fear'd, having but few Garrisons in the *Milanese*,
and whose Incurfions could not extend very far ;
That *Piedmont*, although very fruitful, would never fur-
nish Victuals enough, and the Carriage that way was
very difficult, because of the Rivers which were to be
cross'd, and which having no Bridges, would on the least
Flood retard the Convoys ; That by beginning on the
side of *Savona*, they should come to attack *Genoa*, and
have the Army fresh and entire for the Siege ; whereas
on

1625. on the other side they must besiege divers Places, where they might lose abundance of Men, and where they must fatigue an Army, which would ruin the principal Design.

Though the Constable supported these Reasons, strong in themselves, with all his Authority, the Duke of *Savoy*, whose Sentiments he had Orders to follow, continu'd firm in his Opinion, in hope to satisfy the Animosity which he had against the House of *Mantua*, and to endeavour to appropriate some part of *Montferrat*. He knew that whatsoever Discipline was kept in the Army, his March that way could not but create a great deal of disorder and grievance to the Duke of *Mantua*. The Constable could not hinder this Resolution from being taken, because of the Order we before spake of, which perhaps was given to destroy the Enterprize; because it was well known that the Duke was a Prince excessively ambitious and passionate, and consequently incapable of acting with Moderation enough to make things prosper; otherwise he was a Prince no way to be compar'd to the Constable in matters of War: And this inequality gave him a Jealousie of him from the beginning, with the thoughts, that if the Sentiments of this old Commander were follow'd, all the Honour of the Enterprize would redound to him; which the Vanity and Passion of the Duke of *Savoy* render'd ineffectual, as shall be seen.

There was a Rumour some time before, that there was a design against the *Genoefes*; but as the Secret was kept both in *France* and *Savoy*, the Republick doubted of the truth of it, when they should have had an Army ready. The Senators, by whom Republicks are govern'd, being ordinarily better vers'd in the governing of their Houses than in the administration of Affairs of State, often imagine, that in the Republick, as well as in a Family, good Husbandry, or Frugality, is the principal thing of which care is to be taken. By this Opinion they make it their utmost endeavours to hinder unnecessary Expences, and to augment the publick Treasure. It is true, that with Money we may have Men, but there must be time for them also; nor are good Troops presently to be had, nor Generals capable to command them,

them, or such as may without Scruple be trusted. In 1625. the interim, the Enemy is many times on his march, and makes great progress against those who have no Army to oppose him: This is just the condition the *Genoese* were in when they pass'd the Mountains; they had given Orders for the raising of five thousand *Germans*, which were to be commanded by the Prince *de Bozzolo*, with two hundred Horse, and Magazines of Ammunition and Provision very indifferent. They believ'd that this little Body of an Army, supported by the Militia of the Country, would be strong enough to make head against the *French* and the *Savoyards*, superiour both for Number and Quality of Soldiers, without speaking of the *French* Generals, incomparably more experienc'd than theirs. They also trusted to the Situation of their Country, mountainous and barren, so that great Armies could not subsist without having Victuals from other places, and that Horse are of little use; besides, the *Spaniards* are so much interest'd in the Conservation of *Genoa*, because of the conveniency of their Ports, and for the Communication of their States in *Italy*; That there was no appearance but they would hasten to their Succour whenever they should be attack'd.

The Dukes of *Florence* and *Mantua* took the Alarm when they saw the Constable in *Italy*, and incessantly sent Couriers into *France*, to endeavour to dive into the Designs of that Court. But it was told them, that the King would declare in time and place; and that if he siez'd on any place in *Montferrat*, it was not to take it away from the Duke of *Mantua*, but to hinder the Enemy from making advantage by it, because that Prince was not in a condition to keep it.

The Sentiment of the Duke of *Savoy*, having, as I said, prevail'd, the Army march'd * towards *Montferrat*, * March 9. the Constable led the Vanguard, and forc'd his Passage where they would not give it him quietly; *Capriata*, a little City which would not open its Gates, was taken and pillag'd, as well as *Montbarazzo*: He also render'd himself Master of *Aiqui*, which was made the Magazine of the Army, leaving there a Regiment in Garrison, with promise to surrender it to the Duke when the Wars should be finish'd. The Constable farther demand-

1625. ed *Nice de la Paille* of the Duke of *Mantua*, and offer'd him Hostages: But that Prince refus'd it, saying, That he should himself take so much care of its Preservation, that the King's Army should have no reason to fear upon that account any Enemies on that side.

After this the Army enter'd into the State of *Genoa*, and went to lodge at *Novi*, which is the Frontier of the *Milanese*. *George Doria* was in that place with five hundred Men; but having no Provision nor Cannon, he was necessitated on the approach of the Army to open the Gates. *John Jerome Doria*, *Mestre de Camp*, General to the Republick, abandon'd *Oviedo* for the same Reason; though he had put himself into it with a design to defend it, and retir'd himself to *Rossiglione*, which was well provided by *James Spinola*. At the same time the Duke of *Savoy*, with two Thirds of the Army, took the way of *Cremolino*, that he might come to *Voltri*, and march along the Coast directly to *Genoa*; which was so terrified by the march of their Enemies, that it was all in disorder. In the mean time the Constable began to complain of the Duke of *Savoy*, who had given him the most part of the Work to manage, with but a third part of the Army, and two Pieces of Cannon; besides, he could have but what his Highness pleas'd to bestow on him: He also fear'd that the Duke would take *Genoa* before he could get thither, because he had the longest way to go; so that the Duke would get all the Honour of this Enterprize, whilst the Constable underwent the greatest part of the Fatigue. This latter advanc'd nevertheless towards *Gavi*, which, he thought, ought to be attack'd, that he might not leave a place behind him; where was, according to the largeness of it, a very considerable Garrison. *Benedict Spinola*, who had serv'd a long time in the Wars of *Flanders*, was in the place with fifteen hundred Men; and the Town was supported by a Castle built on a Rock.

The French, marching towards this Place, intercepted a Letter of *Jerome Picmentelli*, General of the Cavalry of the State of *Milan*, by which he desir'd *Spinola* to send him five Companies of *Neapolitans*, each to consist of two hundred Men, who were to be on the 24th at *Serravalle*, from thence to enter into *Gavi*. The Constable sent

sent the Marquis d'Uxelles with two Regiments, and two Troops of Horse, to charge him in the Passage. The Count of Alets join'd himself to them, with six Companies of light Horse. On the Day appointed, they perceiv'd the Neapolitans in sight of Serravalle, on the other side of the River Scrivia, marching directly to Serravalle, whither the River guided them. Though they saw the French, yet they continu'd their March, thinking the French would not venture over the River to come at them: But the French pass'd it, and kill'd two hundred, and took fifty Prisoners; amongst whom was the Commander, and put the rest to flight. This Action was done just on the Territory of Milan, yet pass'd not for a Rupture; and the Prisoners were sent back without paying any Ransom.

During this, the Duke of Savoy advanc'd on the Right Hand of the Constable, and had seiz'd on Gua, deserted by Nicholas Doria, who had one thousand Foot, and one hundred Genoesse Gentlemen, with whom he went to Rossiglione with two thousand Foot more, to defend the Passages of the Mountains. The Duke having made himself Master of divers other little places, march'd directly towards him, and on Maundy Thursday assaulted his Trenches, put him to the rout, and pursu'd him unto Campo, three Leagues from thence, and took that place by Composition.

This so swift Progress, and the Cowardice of the Genoesse Officers and Soldiers, put the City into so great a Terror, that if the Duke could have mounted his Artillery at Masene, Genoa would have been constrain'd to surrender, the old Spanish Troops not having yet entered the place; but the Mountain is too steep and craggy in this part, to pass any Artillery, without spending a great deal of pains and time. Mean time, on Good Friday, the Senate of Genoa compos'd of Persons not experienc'd in War, were possess'd with so strange a fright, that it was resolv'd to abandon Savonne and Gavi, and all the other places, and to bring the Garrisons into the City. But it was to no purpose that they sent these Orders to some of the Commanders, who understood the business of War, and who knew it was impossible for the Duke to pass his Artillery to Masene; and that he must,

1625. in spight of his Teeth, take the way of *Gavi*: They refus'd to desert those places which were committed to their trust, which was that which occasion'd the safety of *Genoa*, and made them take Courage, and gave them the means to wait for Succours. *John Jerome Doria* made them resolve to defend *Gavi*; because, should it be taken, the Enemies would march directly to *Genoa*, without any further Impediment. He shut up himself in it with *Spinola*, designing to sell it as dear as he could to the Enemies. Whilst *Louis Guasco* found means, by Order of the Duke of *Feria*, to conduct two thousand Foot and two hundred Horse to *Genoa*. There enter'd into it many *Spanish* and *Italian* Officers, who confirm'd the Senate, and were the cause that they forbid, under severe Penalties, any to go out of the City, or to send away any thing whatsoever, as a great number of people had begun to do.

In the mean time, the Duke being stopp'd by the Mountain of *Mafone*, went to confer with the Constable and Mareschal at *St. Christophers*, where they concluded of the Siege of *Gavi*, designing to make that a Magazine for Provisions, whilst they besieg'd *Genoa*. *Caracciolo*, Camp-master General to the *Spaniards*, beyond the *Appennines*, after his entrance into *Genoa*, had posted himself at *Ottagio* with five thousand Foot and some Cavalry, to hinder the Siege of *Gavi*, which is but three Miles distant, in case they should undertake it. At last *Charles Emanuel* caus'd his Army to march on that side, to joyn the Constable, and to block up the place on the side towards *Genoa*, as the *French* had already done on that of *Montferrat* and *Milan*. The Duke took his Quarters at *Corrasio*, which is a Village about two Miles distant from *Ottagio*; and seeing the Enemy so near him, he sent to view them on the 9th of *April*, without any design to attack them. But the Regiment of *Piemont*, which the Duke had sent for that end, no sooner appear'd, but the *Spanish* and *Genoese* Troops left their Retrenchments, which were at the greatest distance. This Cowardice caus'd the *Piemonteses* to sieze them, and the Duke to advance other Troops, to see what might be done. They assaulted two Forts which the *Spaniards* had erected at the end of a narrow Bridge, where the
Fight

Fight lasted two Hours with equality, the Troops in the Action being supported by fresh ones on each side. By degrees the Armies came to a total Engagement: And the Duke of *Savoy* being advanc'd with his Cavalry a little beyond the Forts, where he perceiv'd those of the *Genoefes* rang'd in Battalia on a Plain. He presently march'd up to them, charg'd them, broke them, and put them to flight: But the Infantry resisted bravely, and retreated not into the City of *Ottagio*, separated from the Suburbs by a Ditch, until they had lost a great many Men. They defended themselves still in this Post very vigorously, until the Duke, having sent two Regiments to the other side of the Town, they set fire to it, and retreated into the Castle. As they were pursu'd they sprung a Mine, which destroy'd many of their Enemies: But as this Castle was too weak to resist a victorious Army, it was forc'd to surrender at Discretion. The Duke took Prisoner the General *Caracciolo*, *Louis Guasco*, and *Stephen Spinola*, and above six hundred Soldiers. About twelve hundred of the *Genoefes* and *Spaniards* were kill'd, and the Conquerors got only a bloody Victory. The Duke sent seventeen Standards to the King, * and wrote to him the particulars of the Victory. The City of *Ottagio* was entirely pillag'd; and they found plunder enough.

After this second defeat, much more considerable than that of *Ressiglione*, the *Genoefes* fell into their former Frights, and believ'd they should suddenly see their Capital besieg'd. They deliberated still, whether it were not better to abandon *Gavi*, and all the rest of the places, to retire with all the rest of their Troops into *Genoa*. But as their safety depended solely on the Success of the Duke of *Feria*, they sent to demand his Opinion, and order'd *Meazza*, a *Milanese* Captain who commanded in *Gavi* instead of *Spinola*, to put his Counsel in execution as soon as he had receiv'd it.

Whilst the Duke of *Savoy* and the Constable formally besieg'd *Gavi*, and the Duke of *Feria* judg'd that it was best to abandon the place, *Meazza* would have departed in the night, but found the Ways so bad, that he was forc'd to return; which he could not do so readily, as to hinder the Enemies from perceiving it, and falling

* In a Letter dated April 9. 1625. which may be seen in *Sirey Memoires* Rec. T. 5. p. 817.

1625. upon him in his Retreat, even to the Walls of *Gavi*. So that to execute the Order of the Duke of *Feria*, *Meazza* surrendred the City on the same Day, on condition the Garrison should retire whither they pleas'd. *Alexander Giustiniani*, a Gentleman of *Genoa*, who commanded in the Castle, shew'd how much griev'd he was to surrender, by discharging all the Artillery upon the Town; he answer'd very fiercely when they summon'd him to surrender. But when he saw three Batteries rais'd against the Castle, he demanded leave of the Besiegers to send a Messenger to *Genoa*, to give an account to the Senate of the condition of the place, and promis'd, that if he receiv'd not an Answer in three days, he would give up the Castle. This leave was given: But when the Courier return'd, by whom the Senate order'd him to hold the place as long as he could, the Duke of *Savoy* stopp'd him, * and *Giustiniani*, at the time prefix'd, surrendred on honourable Terms. He brought out of the Castle one hundred and fifty *Corss*, twenty *Genoeses*, and nineteen *Swissers*, which he led to *Genoa*, where he was put in Prison; it not being known that the Courier which they sent back to him had been detain'd.

9 April 22.

The loss of *Gavi*, which *Meazzo* had promis'd to defend for ten days at the least; in which the Republick flatter'd it self with receiving Succours from divers places, put the *Genoeses* in despair; which was the greater, because all things seem'd to conspire their ruin: But what might have destroy'd them, contributed to their Safety; for the taking of *Gavi* created a misunderstanding between the Duke and the *French* Generals. This Prince presently put some of his own Troops into the Castle, as if he had a design solely to reap the Fruits of the Victory; and the Constable and his Son-in-Law were so angry at it, and complain'd in so bitter Terms, that the Duke was oblig'd to withdraw his people, and to suffer a *French* Garrison to enter it. This Quarrel about the propriety of *Gavi*, rais'd a Discourse concerning what Governour should be put into *Genoa* if it were taken. *Charles Emanuel* pretended, that the Princess of *Piement* had the Right to name him, because the King of *France* had consented that the place should be deposi-

ted in the Hands of that Princess. But the King intended to name the Governour ; and the Marechal de *Crequi* believ'd, that no other could be named but himself, without his manifest wrong. This encreas'd the Jealousie and Misunderstanding between the Duke and the *French*. Two other things happen'd which caus'd a greater disorder : One was, that the Duke had notice that *Stephen Spinola* his Prisoner, had wrote to *Claude de Marines* his Kinsman, Ambassador to the King in *Piedmont*, and to some *French* Officers, that if the Constable would retire out of the State of *Genoa*, the Republick would make a perpetual Alliance with *France*. receive a Resident, and pay the King all the Charges of the War. Besides this, the Duke intercepted two Letters of the Count *de Talard*, who had Correspondents in *Genoa*. This extreemly provo'kd that Prince, who began to make sharp complaints, that *France* should treat with the *Genoefes* without acquainting him with it. Norwithstanding the Count *de Talard* had entertain'd no faulty Correspondence ; and *Spinola* had only written to *Marines* in general Terms, as having some advantageous Proposition to make to the Crown of *France*, and had demanded a Pass-port of the Constable. The Duke having instantly put a stop to this Pass-port, *Spinola* was in the interim taken at the Battle of *Oneglia* ; and his Highness caus'd him to be kept more strictly than the other Prisoners of War, and would not permit him to be ransom'd, though he was entreated to it by the King of *France*.

The Constable advertis'd his Majesty of all that pass'd ; and at the same time intreated him to send him a Recruit, because the Army of the Duke of *Savoy* being stronger than his, he was necessitated to depend upon him absolutely, and had neither Cannon, Ammunition, nor Victuals, but what he pleas'd.

The King wrote to the Duke to appease him, and forbid the Constable to hearken to any Proposition of the *Genoefes* which might disoblige the Duke. He sent also six thousand Men, with the Marquis of *Rotelon*, to command the Artillery, and divers other Officers. He moreover order'd the Duke of *Guise* to put to Sea with the Gallies of *Provence*, to assist the Enterprize of *Genoa* ;

1625.

nevertheless, not to put up the Standard of *France*, and without coming to an open Breach with the *Spaniards*. For the Vessels which were departed from *Holland* he had caus'd them to be stopp'd near *Rochelle*, to oppose the *Rochellers* Fleet.

After the taking of *Gavi*, it was unanimously resolv'd in the Council of War, to attack *Genoa* with all the Forces they had. But as that was a great City, and well peopled, and which consequently could make great resistance, it was judg'd necessary to put the Artillery in a good condition, and to cause store of warlike Ammunition and Victuals to be brought, to subsist the Army in the barren Mountains of *Liguria*. The Duke of *Savoy* had charge of this business, he being oblig'd to furnish the Artillery and Victuals, and to repair the Ways. He promis'd to acquit himself of this Charge, with all the Diligence and Expedition which so pressing an Occasion requir'd. But whether the Measures which he had taken were not right, or that he had not Money enough, the Army waited a long time without seeing any effect of this Promise.

In the mean time, not to leave it wholly useless, the Duke went to attack *Savignon*, a Castle ten Miles from *Ottavio*, and set it on fire after he had taken it. He at the same time sent the Prince of *Piement* to re-conquer *Oneglia*, which the *Genoese* had taken, and to subdue the other places on the West of the *Riviera*. This Expedition, which lasted to the 8th of *June*, was glorious for the Prince, who subdu'd all the places which he attack'd, and beat the Army which the Republick had sent to oppose his March: It was compos'd of six thousand Mercenaries, and one thousand five hundred of the Country Militia, commanded by *John Jerome Doria*. This General was surrounded by the Prince's Army at the attack of *Pieve*, and made Prisoner with all his Men, except seven or eight hundred who were kill'd on the Spot. The Republick, discourag'd by this Defeat, and finding themselves no way in condition to succour their Subjects, permitted them to submit to the Conqueror, to prevent pillaging; which was presently done by *Ventimiglia*, *Albengo*, *St. Remo*, and *Porto Maurizio*, open'd the Gates to their Prince as soon as he appear'd.

appear'd. The Gallies of *France*, which at last put to Sea, favour'd the Conquests, but they were quickly forc'd to retreat to the Ports of *Provence*, because the Marquis of *St. Croix*, appear'd in sight of *Genoa* with sixty *Spanish* Gallies. 1625.

Hitherto the Arms of the Duke and the Constable had been as fortunate as they could wish ; and there remain'd nothing but the taking of *Genoa* and *Savona*, to render them Masters of all *Liguria*. But the disability of the Duke of *Savoy*, who had embark'd himself in this Enterprize, without having wherewithal to support it with vigour, at such a time when it was most necessary, gave time to the Republick of *Genoa* to draw Succours from *Spain*, and renew its Courage. It had written every way to get Money, which it wanted on this occasion : But almost all the Correspondents of the *Genoefes*, who believ'd them lost without retrieve, refus'd to furnish them. Nevertheless, there came * a Galley from *Barcelona*, which happily brought a Million of Gold ; which put the Commonwealth in a State immediately to provide for the most urgent Necessities. After this the Marquis of *St. Croix* entred into the Haven with forty Gallies, laden with old *Spanish* Troops ; and the Duke of *Alcala* conducted thither twelve Gallies more, with Soldiers and Money. It is certain, that in a short time, after the first Frights were over, there were brought to *Genoa* from the Territories of *Spain*, seven Millions of Gold, belonging to private Persons of that City, who in this Emergency lent them to the State. With this Money, distributed to the purpose, they procur'd Succour from all parts. They sent considerable Sums to the Duke of *Feria*, to cause the Troops of the *Milanefes* to advance, and to make new Levies in *Germany*. They purchas'd also from the *Swissers* liberty of passage through their Country, which they could not have obtain'd otherwise, whatsoever political Reasons had been alledg'd to them. These People, who are unacquainted with their Neighbours Interests of State, or who out of simplicity care not for it, who have almost always with extream coldness heard those who have represented to them, That they ought to contribute to the Counterbalancing those Potentates which have made themselves

* In the
Month of
April.

1625. too formidable, as that of *France* was at this Juncture. Whoever would gain them must give them Money, which relieving their present Poverty, makes them do what you please without troubling their Heads with the future.

The *Swissers* then having consented that the Levies which were made should pass through their Country; and also given Permission to their Subjects to march under the Ensigns of *Spain*; the Duke of *Feria* dispos'd himself for a March, with the greatest Force he could make, towards the State of *Genoa*. This Motion of the Governour of *Milan*, and the numerous Garrison which was in *Genoa*, made the Duke and the Constable forego their desire to attack it, but not to remain without motion: And to assure their Conquests of the *Riviera* to the West, they resolv'd upon the Siege of *Savona*, the taking whereof might terrifie the *Genoeses*. The Army was * on their march, but was briskly charged in their Rear by the *Milanese* Cavalry, who yet were repuls'd with loss. The Duke and the Constable return'd to *Aiqui*, where they stay'd till the 22d of *July*, for the new Levies which were making in the Duke of *Savoy's* Country. It was here the good Fortune of this Prince stopp'd in its Career, who beheld himself as easily stripp'd of the State of *Genoa* as he had conquer'd it.

The principal Potentates of *Italy*, who could neither endure the growing Greatness of the Duke of *Savoy*, nor the Establishment of the *French* in *Italy*, were not backward to shew the concern they had for this Enterprize. The Ambassador of *Venice* at the Court of *France*, receiv'd a Courier express, who brought him Letters, with Orders to make known, that That Republick was so far from having any part in the War against *Genoa*; That she entirely disapprov'd of it, and never knew any thing of it, because she had been given to understand, that the Preparations which had been made, were to be against the *Milanese*, where they intended to make a considerable Diversion; and that it was to be fear'd, that without it the Duke of *Feria* would enter into the *Valtelline* with thirty thousand Men, and drive the Marquiss de *Cœuvres* from thence. The Ambassador added, That this

this latter had also demanded Succours of the Republick; which she could not furnish him withal, because she had occasion for all the Forces she could raise elsewhere. The Cardinal, in answer to these Discourses of the *Venetian* Ambassador, said, That the Republick acted against its own Interests; because, if the King could make himself Master of *Genoa*, he would infallibly be so likewise of the *Milaneses*; of which he would give one half to the *Venetians*, and the other to the Duke of *Savoy*. But the Ambassador, far from being taken in this Snare, visited all the Foreign Ministers which were at *Paris*, and declar'd to them, That tho' the Republick had leagu'd it self with the King and the Duke of *Savoy*, to draw the *Valtelline* out of the hands of the *Spaniards*, yet she knew nothing of the design which they had against *Genoa*. The *Venetians* did so much the more easily persuade the other Potentates of the truth of what they said, that it was visible it was contrary to their Interests that the Republick of *Genoa* should be destroy'd, since instead of a State which disquieted no body, nor caus'd any Jealousies to their neighbouring Princes, they pretended to introduce a formidable Power, which would trouble the quiet of all *Italy*, whenever he should think it for his Interest. *Urban VIII*, for the same Reason order'd his Gallies to joyn with the *Spaniards*, to hinder the Attack of the *Genoese*s by Sea.

In the mean time, *France* was of Opinion, that the Design should be maintain'd until *Genoa* was taken; and all endeavours were to be us'd to reconcile the Duke to the Constable, and to prevent the Quarrels which might happen between them. An Agreement was made as to a Governour of *Genoa* when it should be taken; and they agreed the Person should be the *Mareschal de Crequi*, as very proper for that Employ. But whatever instance the Duke could make to have the Castle of *Gavi*, the Court adjudg'd it to the Constable, and approv'd of his Conduct in this Affair. The Duke still continu'd his Complaints, and accus'd him of detaining from the *French* Soldiers a great part of their Pay; by which means a good part were forc'd to desert for want of Subsistence. He also affirm'd, That this General had made a secret Treaty with the *Genoese*s, and had that way drawn

1625. drawn a considerable Sum of Money from them: The Constable on his part complain'd, That the Duke daily spread Reports to defame him, and accus'd this Prince openly to have embark'd himself in this Enterprize, without having Forces sufficient to execute it, and had broke his Promise. Their differences were carried to so great a height, that the Duke pray'd the King to recall the Constable and the Mareschal de Crequi, and to send the Duke of Guise in their place. The Prince of *Piemont* had entertain'd this last several times, when the *French* Gallies were at *Villa Franca*, and the Duke being return'd into *Provence*, endeavour'd there to raise six thousand Men for the House of *Savoy*. The King would not consent to recall the Constable, perceiving plainly, that the Duke of *Savoy* intended to cast the ill Success of the Enterprize on the Constable; and for fear lest the *Spaniards* should enter into *Piemont* to revenge their Losses which they had receiv'd by the *French*, he gave Orders for eight thousand Foot and three thousand Horse, to pass the Mountains. Although there had yet been no design to break with the *Spaniards* openly, they believ'd that on this occasion a Rupture might contribute to bring them to a Treaty more advantageous to *France*: This was the opinion of the Duke of *Savoy*, and the *Venetians*, who incessantly urged the Court to send an Army into the *Milanes*; without which no satisfaction would be got from the *Spaniards*.

In the mean time the Subjects of *Genoa* recover'd their Courage, and contributed much to the driving out of the *French* and *Savoyards*. There is a Valley in the State of *Genoa* to the West of the City, and not far from it, call'd *Pozzevera*, whose Inhabitants discharged their Duty very well on this occasion. This Valley is extremely well peopled; and lies between the highest Crags of the *Appennine*, so that the Inhabitants can easily defend it against the IncurSIONS of their Enemies; besides, they are naturally fierce, and would be proper for War, were care taken to exercise them. These People being well provided of Arms and Ammunition, kill'd or took Prisoners as many *French* and *Savoyards* as they found stragling from the Body of the Army; so that not daring to march out, they were, as it were, besieg'd in their Camp.

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The *Montferrins*, on the other side, to revenge themselves of the Army for plundering, took their Convoys every moment; which did them great Mischief. The Famine coming into the Camp, and Maladies becoming frequent, together with the Desertions of Soldiers, were so continual, that the Army could not subsist in this barren Country. Those of *Pozzevera*, who knew all the ways and turnings of the Mountains, did at the same time make a bold Attempt to take away five hundred Beefs, which were in a Meadow in sight of the Camp, and which serv'd to draw the Artillery.

The Army being parted from *Aiqui*, took the way to *Savona*, and in their March rendred themselves Masters of *Cairo* by Composition. But the Duke of *Feria*, having discover'd its design, departed from *Alexandria*, to endeavour the Preservation of *Savona*, with twenty two thousand Foot, and five thousand Horse. Resolving to have no regard for the *French*, though as yet there had been no breach, he put himself to march in their Ships to traverse their Enterprizes. He came before *Aiqui*, a few Days after the departure of the Duke and the Constable, and began to assail the place with so much vigour, that he took it by Capitulation, and constrain'd two thousand five hundred Foot to go out of it. The *Spaniards* found in this place the greatest part of the Munitions for War and Mouth of the *French* and *Savoyards* Army: And it was said, that part of the Duke of *Savoy's* Baggage was there also; in which were most magnificent Liveries, which he had caus'd to be made for his Entrance into *Genoa*, as in Triumph; so strangely was he assur'd of the Success of this Enterprize.

The Constable was at *Spigno* when he receiv'd the news that *Aiqui* was taken, and he presently sent to recall the Army, which marched to *Savona* under Conduct of of the Prince of *Piemont* and the Marechal de *Crequi*. After this the Duke and the Constable resolv'd to retreat to *Asti*, passing by the side of the *Spanish* Army. This Resolution was founded upon *Savona's* being provided with a good Garrison, and the Marquis de *St. Croix* being expected daily with the *Spanish* Fleet; so that there was no probability of taking that place, if well defended, in the sight of the *Spanish* Army.

The

1625.

The *Spaniards* on this occasion had great Advantages over their Enemies, had they known how to make use of them. The *French* and *Savoyard* Army was fatigu'd, weaken'd, loaded with Baggage, and hardly got forward its Artillery, which was in disorder, in a way full of Hills, and which they were often fain to level with the Spade and Mattock, to make way for their Cannon. Besides this, they were to pass over the River *Tanare*, before they could come to *Asti*; and if the Duke of *Feria* had posted himself on the Pass, he would strangely have embarrassed the Constable: The *Spanish* Army was wholly fresh, in good state, and also very numerous. Whilst it might have had the Front of the *French* and *Savoyards*, the Marquis of St. Croix might have charg'd them in the Rear; so that it would have been hard for them to have extricated themselves out of this difficulty without loss.

The Constable, though Four-score Years old, would have the Rear-guard in this Retreat, as he had the Vanguard at their entring into the States of *Genoua*. He staid at *Besagne* two days with the Cavalry, and caus'd the Prince of *Piemont* to depart the day before with the Artillery; the Constable follow'd him the day after, and marched with the Army in that manner, that he kept the *Spaniards* on his right hand, and the Baggage on his left. He advanced thus for three days unto *Cannelli*, not being distant from the Enemy, who flank'd him but few miles. In fine, all the Army arriv'd at *Asti*, with its Baggage and Artillery, without receiving any loss from the Enemy. This Retreat was more glorious to the Constable and the Marechal de *Crequi*, than all their preceeding Conquests had been. Though we cannot praise the Bravery and Capacity of the Duke of *Feria* in this Rencounter, wherein he suffer'd the Enemy to escape his hands; yet the Expedition he made to bring Succours to the State of *Genoua*, a Friend to the Crown of *Spain*, is certainly to be commended. It was every-where extoll'd what care the *Spaniards* had taken to support a Power, which would have been trodden down, had they not run with more readiness than they us'd in their own Affairs.

When

When the Enemy's Army was thus retir'd, the *Genouefe* took the Campagne, to recover what they had lost, and beginning with the *Riviera* of the West: They did it with such swiftness, that the Prince of *Piemont*, who was commanded to oppose their Designs, with the best Troops of the Duke his Father, had no time to do it.

The Commanders and the Troops which were left in the Places, defended themselves but little better than the *Genouefe* had done; and all the State of *Genoua* return'd in a few Days to its ancient Masters. Thus the Ambition of the Duke of *Savoy*, and the Avarice of the Constable, who had before-hand divided other Men's Goods, and who believ'd themselves sure to plunder the Riches of the *Genoueses*, found themselves deceiv'd Which ordinarily happens in these sort of Enterprizes, where they meet with unexpected Obstacles, be it on the Enemy's side, or those who are the Assailants, and who usually fall out amongst themselves.

The Constable and the Duke *de Crequi* wrote to the Court to give an account of the State of Affairs, and to engage the King to send Twenty five thousand Men beyond the Mountains, that the War might be carried into the *Milanese*, to be reveng'd of the *Spaniards*, who had defeated their Enterprize on *Genoua*. They had at first some inclination to do it, and gave great Hopes to these Generals; but a little while after, that design was alter'd; and nothing was spoken of, but to accommodate the Affair of the *Valteline*, by the way of Treaty, as will appear in the sequel.

The *Spaniards*, not content to have chased the *French* and *Savoyards* out of the State of *Genoua*, pursued them even into *Piemont*, to punish the Duke of *Savoy* for having dared to attack the Allies of *Spain*, besides his still making profession of his Enmity to that Crown. The Duke of *Feria* therefore encamp'd within three Miles of *Asti*, whither the *French* had retreated. He came thither at the time that the Constable was fallen sick of a Flux, with a Fever and Vomiting, which is always thought mortal to a Man of his Age. The *Mareschal de Crequi* had also the Tertian Ague; so that they retir'd themselves to *Turin* to regain their Health.

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1625. The other General Officers were also indispos'd, except the Marquis d'*Uxelles*, who commanded in *Asti*. The Duke of *Feria* having notice of these things, put himself in a posture to make use of the occasion, and went and encamp'd very near * *Asti*, making show as if he intended to besiege it.
- * July 31.

This Duke was no Man of War : The King of *Spain* had sent to him from *Flanders*, *Don Gonsales de Cordova*, to assist him with his Counsel, and to Command the Army under his Name. This *Spaniard* wanted not Courage ; but he had not the Qualities of a General, and knew not how to bring, what he undertook, to pass. They then observed in *Spain* two essential Faults, which had stopp'd the progress of that vast Monarchy, and which caus'd it to be the Loser in all Wars which it made : The one was, that it wanted Generals, the *Grandeess* plunging themselves into Voluptuousness in their Infancy, and rendring themselves incapable of any thing, by a soft and effeminate Life. This Defect might have been supplied, by making use of foreign Generals, and yet Subjects of the House of *Austria* : But the Envy or natural Contempt which the *Spaniards* have for other Nations, have always hindred them from having recourse to Strangers. The other Defect is, the ill Management of the Treasury, which caus'd the King to be at infinite Expences, and yet paid not his Armies, from whence proceeded desertions of Soldiers, or else they mutined, and were incapable of Action.

- The Duke of *Feria*, and *Don Gonsales de Cordova*, undertook to besiege *Asti*, upon Advice which was given them, that the Place was unprovided for a Siege. But perceiving from the beginning, that they should find more difficulty in this Siege than they believ'd, they retir'd * three days after. They were charg'd in the Rear, by the Troops which were in *Asti*, and by the Marechal de *Cregui*, who was return'd from *Turin* : As for the Constable, he pass'd the Mountains with all speed possible, and caus'd himself to be carried to *Chau-mont* in *Dauphiné*.
- * August 3.

The Council of *Spain* would gladly have had the Duke of *Feria* have taken some Place in *Piedmont*, could he

he have done it, but they were not willing that he should retain a considerable Party; so that to satistie that Order, and to repair the Faults which he had committed, he resolv'd to march and besiege *Verruë*, a Place considerable by its situation, but at that time very weak, and defended by a very small Garrison. He promised to himself to carry this Town in a few days, and afterwards to make himself Master of *Crescentino*, which lies over-against it on the other side of the *Po*. By taking these two Places, which are almost in the middle of *Piedmont*, he hoped to curb the Duke of *Savoy* so, that he should not be in a condition to do *Spain* any hurt; besides, that those Conquests would enable him to subsist his Troops, without any charge to the *Milanese*. This Design appear'd so much the better laid, because there were not then in *Verruë* above Eight or Nine hundred regular Troops, and some Militia. There were no Fortifications but a Half-moon at the head of the Suburbs; all the rest were not perfect-ed; but the situation of the Place was so advantageous, being on a high Hill, and wash'd on one side with the *Po*, that it supplied the want of Fortifications. Yet had the *Spaniards* presently attack'd it vigorously, in all appearance they had taken it by storm. But some Vollies of Cannon-shot so terrified them when they openly approach'd it, that they resolv'd to besiege it formally, in making their Approaches after the manner accustom'd in Sieges of strong Places. They began this Siege on the 7th. of *August*; and their Army, besides the number of Soldiers it had already, which were about Twenty four thousand Foot, and Four thousand Horse, receiv'd Recruits thrice, without being able to take the Place. The Duke of *Savoy* was advis'd to abandon it, believing it could not be maintain'd against the *Spanish* Army; but the Marechal de *Crequi* endeavour'd three times to put in Succours, and to maintain it: For this end he march'd with 2000 Men, half *French*, and half *Savoyards*, towards a Bridge which the Prince of *Piedmont* had made over the *Po* above *Verruë*, and caus'd the *French* Troops to pass, who intrench'd themselves at the head of the Bridge, in the sight of the *Spaniards*, and put into *Verruë* Succours of Victuals, Men, and Ammunition, which it wanted. The *Spaniards* presently perceiv'd,

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1625. that whilst that Bridge stood, or should be in the hands of the *French*, it would be impossible for them to take the Place. Wherefore they made their principal Efforts to ruin it, or to render themselves Masters of the Retrenchment. They four times with Cannon-shot destroy'd the Bridge, which as many times was repair'd. The fifth time, the River being swell'd, carried away the Materials; and the Duke of *Feria* had a very fair opportunity to attack the Intrenchment kept by the *French*, whilst they could not be reliev'd from the other side the *Po*. There were divers attempts made by each side, to gain or recover such Posts as were judged important. About the 11th. of *November*, when the Constable was return'd out of *Dauphiné*, in the head of a considerable Re-inforcement, he, with the Troops of the Duke of *Savoy*, attack'd divers Forts which the *Spaniards* had made in the Plain, to secure their Convoys, and took them all without any considerable loss. The *Spaniards* upon this went out of their Lines to regain them; but could recover only one, which was nearest to their Camp, and were repulsed throughout with loss, after a Fight which lasted four Hours. This obliged the *Spaniards* to raise the Siege immediately in a hurry, for fear the *French* should fall upon them in their Camp.

The Constancy and Bravery of the *French* appear'd on this occasion in the defence of their Retrenchments, as also their Patience to endure labour in the pains they took to make them, as well as the Bridge which they defended. They frighted the *Spaniards* with a manner of fighting, to which they were not accusom'd: For instead of amusing themselves at Club-Musquet, they march'd streight upon them with their Swords drawn, and drove them into their Retrenchments. On the contrary, the *Spaniards* were generally blam'd for having lost two thirds of an Army of forty thousand Men before a little paltry Town, without being able to take it, by reason of the small Ability of their Commanders.

The Duke of *Savoy* receiv'd the highest Satisfaction, that he had in some sort been able to revenge on the *Spaniards* the Injury they had done him, in taking out of his Power, as he believ'd, the City of *Genoa*, when he was

was just on the point to attack it. He gave out, that he would return thither, but only for the consideration that he wanted a Naval Army, to chase away that of the *Spaniards* which restrain'd him. He purpos'd therefore to follow the Army of the *Spaniards*, and attack them at *Pontesture*, where it lay encamp'd, and after to penetrate into the *Milanese*; his principal design being to engage the two Crowns in a long War, that he might, according to the Proverb, *Fish in troubled Waters*. The Constable, and the Marechal de Crequi, were as willing as he to be reveng'd on the *Spaniards*; but the evil Success of the Enterprize of *Genoa* had made them more reserv'd, and they would not employ the King's Arms but where they were assur'd to retreat both with Honour and Profit. As to what regarded the assailing of the *Spanish* Army at *Pontesture*, they thought it too dangerous, it having still forty thousand effective Men, and had Cannon and Ammunition enough to defend that Post, which is upon the *Po.* and by which it might draw whatever it wanted out of the *Milanese*.

The Season being advanc'd, did also prohibit them from undertaking the Siege of any place in the *Milanese*; and besides, the Army was not strong enough for such an Enterprize. They might easily enter into the *Spanish* Territories; but the *French* Generals judg'd it dishonourable for the King's Forces, to make an inroad only, and then a Retreat. The Duke propos'd, nevertheless, to besiege *Novaro*, which was in no condition to resist; and these Generals, after some Scruples, offer'd him their Troops. The Duke appointed the time for the march of the Army; but the excessive Rains put a sudden stop to this Design, which they after left quite off, when they heard that the *Spaniards* had sent Troops and Munitions into *Novaro*.

This Project not taking, the Duke was positive for entering into the *Milanese* on another side; but the Constable and the Marechal oppos'd it for two Reasons, besides the former: The first was, That the King's Forces ought not to set foot there, till the *Venetians* had entred in at the same time; and the *Venetians* excus'd their doing it, until the King had first invaded it with two and twenty thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse;

1625. and that the Duke had so many in readiness as he was oblig'd to have ; That it was to no purpose to undertake this Expedition in Winter, and without Cannon. The Duke replied to these Reasons, That if the King would send but eight thousand Men into the *Milanese*, the *Venetians* would not fail to enter, for the great advantages their Republick might reap by it ; and as for him he was ready to march, with the number of Troops he was engag'd to have. However the Constable's Reasons, supported by the King's Orders, prevail'd, and the Troops were sent to garrison in several places of *Piedmont*. This augmented not a little the disgust which the Duke had conceiv'd against the Constable ; and afterwards, in the Month of *December*, this latter, with the Marechal *de Cregui*, withdrew themselves to *Grenoble*. This was the end of the Enterprize of *Genoa*, which I have orderly, and somewhat fully related, though the Cardinal contributed to it no more particularly than the other Counsellors of State ; because it was a signal Example of that which the Fable calls, *To sell or divide the Bear's skin*. It further shews, of what importance it is not to despair because of the progress of an Enemy, as long as one place remains defensible ; since the *Genoefes*, resolving to endure a Siege, notwithstanding all the Losses they had suffer'd, made a fortunate end of the Affair, without being guilty of any baseness, as other People have often been, who have sent the Keys of their Towns to their Enemies, without staying for so much as a Summons.

We are now to return to other things, which happened in *France* in the same Year, and in which the Cardinal was much more concern'd. The King being advertis'd by the * Nuncio, that the Pope had sent Cardinal *Barbarin* Legat into *France*, seem'd very well pleas'd : But when the Nuncio demanded a suspension of Arms between the two Crowns, until a Peace was concluded, he referr'd him to the Council. In the mean time, the Nuncio represented, that the two Months Suspension already agreed on, would soon be expir'd, before any thing w^rs concluded on. The King wrote to the Count of *Bethune*, That after the two Months were expir'd, they should agree to twenty or twenty five Days more ; of which

* March 23.

which notice was given to the Nuncio ; who was for a suspension of Arms likewise for the State of *Genoa*, since the Cardinal *Barberin* came to accommodate that Affair, as well as the other of the *Valteline* ; but whatever he could say, it would not be taken notice of. The *Venetians*, who would not contradict whatever was done in favour of the *Genoefes*, oppos'd with all their might the Suspension which the Pope demanded for the *Valteline* ; the Ambassador of *Savoy* oppos'd it too with all his Power.

A while after it was propos'd to the Pope on behalf of *France*, That to satisfy him, they would offer to surrender to him the Forts of the *Valteline*, on condition he would content himself with that Offer, without pressing the Accomplishment, because there was no necessity of it for the Honour of his Holiness. They would also promise an exact observation of the Suspension ; which *France* did nevertheless more by force than any consideration of the Pope, since the Marquis de *Cauxvres* was weaker than the *Spaniards*. The Court gave not over to write to him, that if an opportunity presented to advance the King's Affairs, he was not too nicely to regard the Suspension.

In the Interim the Legat advanc'd towards *Paris*, where he entred the 21st of *May*, after they had taken away some difficulties about enregistring his Bulls, wherein the King was only styl'd, *King of France*, and not *King of Navarre*.

After he had had the first Audience of Ceremony, he receiv'd * another, in which he exhorted the King • *May 28.* to a Peace, to remit the Affairs of the *Valteline* into the same Estate they were before these Brouilleries, and to make a general Cessation of Arms in *Italy*. The King answer'd, That he was very much inclin'd to a Peace, and should be always so, provided it might be certain and honourable to him and his Confederates ; That as to what regarded the *Valteline*, it ought to be remitted into the Estate it was in before the *Spaniards* made seizure of it ; That, in fine, the Suspension of Arms, of which mention was made, could not but be prejudicial to him as well as to his Allies. The Legate further urg'd the King to cause all Hostilities against the *Genoefes*

1625. to cease; but the King replied, that he could not desert the Duke of *Savoy*. In the third Audience the King still refus'd to the Legate the suspension of Arms; altho' the Cardinal declar'd, That without that the Crown of *Spain* would openly succour the Republick of *Genoa*. The King replied, That though he had endeavour'd not to come to a Rupture with the *Spaniards*, yet if they first took up Arms against him, he should be the last would lay them down.

The Legate had also a long Conference with the Cardinal of *Richlieu*, and the Count *de Schomberg*, (for after the disgrace of *Vieville* he had return'd into favour,) and *Herbault*, Secretary of State, who came to his Lodgings. The Legat would have with him the Nuncio *Spada*, and *Azzolini*, Secretary of the Legation. He made the same demands to the Ministers as he had done to the King; and the Cardinal of *Richlieu* answer'd him, That his Majesty had already declar'd, that he would not agree to them, and brought many Reasons to make it appear, that the King could not, nay ought not to consent to the suspension of Arms, for fear lest his Enemies should make use of it, to assemble all their Forces, in order to act with more vigour against him and his Allies; That a Peace might as easily be made as a Truce, the Conditions whereof would be as difficult to accommodate as those of a Peace; That if the *Spaniards* would observe the Treaty of *Madrid*, and that greater assurance might be provided for the Catholick Religion in the *Valteline*. As to what regarded the Satisfaction which his Holiness demanded, he prayed the Legat to remember, That the King had never consented that the *Valteline* should be deposited in the Pope's Hands, but only on condition, and in a time limited, that the Treaty of *Madrid* should be executed; That the length of Negotiations, without ever coming to the demolition of the Forts, the instances of the Ambassador of *France* at the Court of *Rome*, and the several particulars which he had propos'd to his Holiness, before the *Grisons* made an Insurrection to bring it to that, was the only Remedy for these Differences. The arrival of the *Spaniards* in the *Valteline* before the *Grisons*, or at the same time which they entred, and the respect which *Cœuvres* always

always shew'd to his Holinesses Ensigns, had sufficiently 1625.
justified the Conduct of *France*; and yet, nevertheless,
the King refus'd not for his part to do all that could reasonably be demanded of him; That it was very difficult to determine the Conditions, which would be very different if they should come to accommodation, or if they should enter into an open War; But that the King would cause his Ambassador to tell his Holiness, That for the Honour of the Party, it should be permitted him to advance; and that when the Peace was assur'd, the King would remit the Castle of *Chiavenna* at the same time that the *Spaniards* should surrender to him that of *Riva*, to be both razed, and the same should be done as to the rest.

The Legat said the same things over again at the fourth Audience, excepting that he still spoke of the security of the Catholick Religion in the *Valteline*. Hitherto it had not been demanded of the Legat, if he had any Power to treat in the Name of the *Spaniards*, because his Character of Legat sufficed for his making the Propositions he had already made. But when he begun to speak of the Establishment of the Catholick Religion in the *Valteline*; which was an essential Point, and a pretext to diminish the Authority of the *Grisons* in that Country, it was demanded of him, whether he had Authority to treat, and to cause what was to be agreed upon to be put in execution. The Legat answer'd, That he had no other Power than what the Pope had given him; but that if he could accommodate the two Crowns, he doubted not but it would be well approv'd of. Doubts arose upon this answer, whether a Negotiation was to be entred into with him: But as that engag'd him to nothing, they resolv'd to do it, to demonstrate the Consideration which *France* had for the Legat, and the good Disposition she was in towards a Peace.

As for the suspension of Arms, the same thing was answer'd; so that not to stop the Negotiation, it was said, that That Article should be left undecided, and they would pass on to others. The Cardinal of *Richlieu* then said, That in regard of the Satisfaction which the Pope demanded, the King would write to him, and tell him

1625. by his Ambassador, in Terms which should do no hurt, neither to the Honour of him who spoke, nor the Dignity of him to whom they were address'd. On the Article of Peace he said, That if it were made, his Majesty would order the Commanders of the Forts of the *Valtelline*, to remit them into the Hands of such Governours as the Pope should send, on condition that the Garrisons of the Pope, and those of the King should join together to demolish them, to the end it might quickly be done; or if this would not please his Holiness, he would cause them to be demolish'd successively; and that if the *Spaniards* would not begin with the Fort of *Riva*, it should be done after such a manner, that they which the King first remitted, should at the same time be demolish'd. Although this satisfaction which was offer'd the Pope contain'd nothing which was precise, the Legat said, It was easie to agree of Words, which the King and his Ambassador might make use of, as the Formality which should purposely be made use of for the demolishing of the Forts of the *Valtelline*.

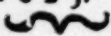
The greatest concern'd the security of the Catholick Religion in that Country; upon which the Legat said, That it belong'd to the Pope solely privatively from all others, to regulate that which regarded the Catholick Religion; and for the greater security of the Catholick Inhabitants of the *Valtelline*, ways were to be sought out to free them from the power of the *Grisons*. The King answer'd, That he would willingly have the Catholick Religion, and Catholick People of the *Valtelline* put under Covert, but would not have the Interests of State, confounded with those of that Religion, and that his Majesty would never suffer any thing to be done which might bring prejudice to the Sovereignty which the *Grisons* his Allies had on the *Valtelline*.

In * another Conference this Point was treated on much longer, and the Legat maintain'd, That the Catholick Religion could not be secur'd in that Country, without *some moderating of the Authority of the Grisons*, (for these are the Terms he made use of;) for if they were Masters both of the Justice and the Garrisons, it was to be fear'd lest they should abuse it, to the prejudice of the Franchises and Consciences of the Inhabitants

* June 20.
Siv's Mem.
Rec. T. 5. p.
862.

rants of the *Valteline*. The King's Ministers replied, with Reason, That Divine and Human Laws requir'd to render to the Sovereign that which of Right belong'd to him ; That the *Grisons* were in possession, which none could deny, of the Sovereignty of that Country before the *Spaniards* entred it ; That it could not be refus'd to be surrendred to them, under pretence that a good part of the Inhabitants of that Country were Catholics ; That the King acted for the *Grisons* as their Confederate, and their Protector ; and having taken Arms to re-establish them in their Rights, it was not for his Honour to consent to the diminution of their Authority ; That for the greater security of the Religion, the King was willing to enter into the Treaty, and employ his Arms to make it be observ'd ; That it should be declared, that if the *Grisons* should controvert the Regulation which should be made concerning the Religion, they should forfeit their Sovereignty, and the Judgment should appertain to the King and the Pope conjointly. The Legat, who was not satisfied with this Expedient, propos'd divers particulars, by which he took away either in the whole or in part, the Sovereignty of the *Valteline* from the *Grisons*, under pretext of securing the Catholick Religion ; but they were rejected for the Reasons already given. Notwithstanding a Project of Articles was put into the Hands of the Legat, of which one part regarded Religion, and the other the Civil Power, the Legat who was not above twenty four Years old, durst do nothing on this occasion of his own Head, but only as he was limited by his Orders : Wherefore he sent those Articles to his Uncle by an Express, to know the Sentiments of the Court of *Rome*. In the mean time he could conclude nothing, because in all the Conferences he only repeated the same Matters ; and the *French* still gave him the same Answers. This vex'd the Pope, who was otherwise very well satisfied with the Honours they had done his Nephew in *France*, but who saw with regret, that as to the bottom of Affairs he could advance nothing ; So that his Legation beacme useles.

1625.


 In the mean time the suspension of Arms was expir'd on the 10th of May; and the Mareschal *de Cœuvres* was troubled because of the Arrival of the Counts *de Pappenheim* and *de Serbellin* at *Riva* with new Troops. Besides this, he began to observe a great coldness in the *Venetians* concerning the Affairs of the League. During some Months they had done nothing but urg'd the King to enter into the *Milanese*, and to declare War with the *Spaniards*; and seeing him once engag'd, instead of succouring him as they had promis'd, they started a hundred difficulties in the execution of the Treaty. In effect, their design was not to render *France* powerful in *Italy*, at the cost of the *Spaniards*, but only to engage them against them, that they might not have them sit on their skirts. The King on his part, endeavour'd only to exclude the *Spaniards* from the passage of the *Valteline*, with a handful of people, which he thought to have got sustain'd by the *Venetian Army*, without being oblig'd to send an Army into the *Milanese*. The Marquis *de Cœuvres*, not to be idle, and to preserve the Reputation which he had gotten, resolv'd to attack *Nova*, which would serve for a near Blockade to *Riva*. For this end he caus'd two great pieces of Cannon to be brought from *Bergamo*, and compleated the *Swiss* Regiment of *Salù*, to which the Guard of *Chiavenna* had been committed. He sent also two armed *Venetian Barks* in the Lake of *Chiavenna*, to prohibit the Portage of Victuals by Water to *Riva*. But the *Spaniards* rendred these Barks uselefs, by putting others into the same Lake, and placing some Cannon on divers places of the sides. *Cœuvres*, after he had lost much time about this, gave Orders to all his Troops to march directly to *Nova*, making account to fall upon it in the Night, and raise a Battery against this place, and to attack it the day following, as soon as the Breach was made. But his Orders not being well executed, instead of the Attack which was propos'd to be made, all the Army was engag'd otherwise than he design'd. *Vaubercourt* having lodg'd three Companies of the Regiment of *Normandy*, near the Ditch of *Codaire*, he found they were separated from the *Spaniards* by this Ditch only, which made him to begin the Skirmish with them; in which they were supported by one Regiment, and after by the whole

whole Army : The Combat was very sharp, and so obstinate, that it lasted till late in the Night. The *French* there had the worst, and left two hundred dead on the place, and besides had a great many wounded. This disadvantage broke the Design they had upon *Nova*, and they retook it not afterwards for want of observing in the execution (better than they had before done) the difficulty there was to bring their Cannon to it. In the Months of *June*, *July*, and *August*, there reigned so many Diseases among the *French*, little accusom'd to the Heats of the Climate in which they were, and who eat the Fruits of the Country too greedily for their Refreshment, that the Army was lessen'd more than one half ; in-somuch, that reckoning the Aids of the *Venetians*, they had not more than Three thousand Men, and most of the Officers were sick.

The *Spanish* Troops were not exempt from these Inconveniencies, but the Neighbourhood of the *Milanese* afforded them better comfort ; and instead of the Sick, which were sent thither, there came fresh Soldiers ; so that their Troops appear'd but little diminish'd. *Cævres* often demanded Recruits from the Court, and some Levies were made among the *Swiss* and the *Grisons* ; but it was not till towards the end of the Year, and those not very numerous. He press'd the *Venetians* also to send him Succours, and threatned them to retreat to *Sandrio*, or to *Tirano*, which would give the *Spaniards* opportunity to make Excursions into their Territories : But notwithstanding all these Instances, they remain'd immovable.

The Marechal de *Roquelaure* being dead, the King, in the Month of *August*, gave a Marechals Staff of *France* to the Count of *Schomberg*, which he had long since promis'd him. *Cævres* endeavour'd to obtain one, praying the King to give him that of the Marechal de *Bouillon*, who died some Years ago, and to whom no Person had been substituted. He added, That if his Majesty was not disposed to give it him presently, he supplicated him that the Brief might be expedited. But he was answer'd, that the King no more gave Briefs for those sort of Gratifications ; and the Cardinal de *Richlieu* wrote to him, That it was more glorious for him to wait till
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1625. the King did him that favour of his proper motion, thatⁿ to extort it by Importunities. There were two Obstacles which hinder'd his receiving this Recompence; one was, that a report had been raised, that the King had given him a Marechal's Staff, after the Invasion of the *Valtelline*; the Nuncio *Spada* had strongly oppos'd it; and had declar'd, that that would be to affront his Holiness, to recompence a man after that manner, who had offended him; and make it appear, that he had done all things by order, though the contrary was pretended. The other Obstacle was, that Monsieur demanded the same thing for the Colonel *d'Ornano*, his Governour.

The Arms of *France* having no farther happy success than they had lately in the state of *Genoa* and the *Valtelline*, the Court of *Rome* hoped that she might come to a conclusion in the Affair of the *Valtelline* with the greater facility; but the King's Ministers would by no means hear of despoiling the *Grisons* of the Sovereignty of that Valley. In the middle of *July*, the Legat sent the Nuncio to the Cardinal of *Richlien*, to conferr with him thereupon; and he receiv'd the same Answer from him. *Spada* replied, That the Legat could conclude no Treaty which should confirm the *Grisons* in the Restitution of the *Valtelline*, because it was incompatible with the security of the Catholick Religion, without which, no Person, much less a Legat, could make any Proceedings: That the Pope had order'd at *Rome*, and the Legat in *France*, a good number of Divines to examine the matter to the bottom; and though they could not foresee what their Determination would be, there was no coming to an Accommodation, at least if the Advantage was not to the Catholick Religion in the *Valtelline*, and care were not taken of the Reputation of the Apostolick See, and that of the Crown of *Spain*. The Cardinal promised that care should be taken of all these; but he made no particular Proposition thereupon.

Whilst the Legat was at the Court, the Deputies of the Dukes of *Rohan* and *Soubise* came thither, to treat for their Reconciliation. The Legat took this for an Affront; because he pretended, that before they heard the Deputies, they should have finish'd the Affair with him; but he was yet more angry, when he saw the Peace

Peace between the King and the *Rochellers* publish'd with sound of Trumper; and he very well apprehended his Negotiation would become more difficult. The Court was not a little glad to find an opportunity to extinguish a domestick Flame, before it spread too far, in the fear it was in suddenly to enter into a War with Spain.

It was said, that in the beginning of this Year, *Soubise* had taken six of the King's Ships at *Blavet*; having carried them to *Rochelle*, a little after he went to the Isle of *Oleron*, * which he easily seiz'd on, and there built three Forts to keep it for his Parry. From thence he pretended to keep all the Neighbouring Coasts under check, and to retreat thither with all the Prizes he got in his Cruizings. Those of *Rochelle*, on their side, over-run all the Neighbourhood, in spite of all the care of *Thoiras* Governour of *Fort-Lewis*; of the Mareschal of *Pralin*, Governour of *Saintonge*; and of the Count of *Rochefoucaud*, Governour of *Poitou*, who had raised some Troops to prevent their Excursions. *Soubise* made a descent on the Coast of *Olonne*; but he was constrain'd, by the Mareschal de *Pralin* quickly to return on board his Vessels. He was more fortunate in the Descent which he afterwards made on the Banks of the *Garonne*, where he run all about *Bordeaux*; and in the mean time, by means of his Fleet, hindred any thing from coming thither by Sea. He made himself Master of the Castle of *Castillon* in *Medoc*, which is three Leagues from *Blaye*, and the best Road of the *Garonne*, and had there made further progress if *Thoiras*, whom the King had made Mareschal de Camp, and Colonel of the Regiment of *Champeigne*, had not hastned thither with that Regiment and other Troops, which constrained him to re-imbark, and took *Castillon* from him. A little while after, a furious Storm, having very much damaged his Fleet, forc'd him to retire to re-fit it.

The Affairs of the *Hugonots* were in no better condition, in *High* and *Low Languedoc*, where the Duke of *Roban* had made a great many of them take up Arms, because of the daily Incroachments on their Privileges, notwithstanding the reiterated Promises of the King, and his Declaration of the 25th. of *January* of that Year; by which, when he declar'd *Roban* and *Soubise* Rebels,

* See the sequel of the Rebellion of France, during the Years 1625. and following.

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1625. and those of their Party, he took into his Protection all who remain'd in quiet at home, under the benefit of his Edicts. The Duke of Rohan having withdrawn himself to *Castres*, from whence he sent his Orders to all parts, the Parliament of *Tholouse*, Enemy to the *Hugonots* for a long time, made an Act, by which it ordain'd *, that all the Jurisdiction, Secular and Ecclesiastical, Sub-Treasuries, and all Receipts, should be transferr'd from *Castres* to the City of *Lautrec*. The Marechal de *Themines*, and the Duke of *Espernon*, opposed themselves at the same time to the Duke of *Rohan*, with two little Bodies of an Army. The second attempted to block up *Montauban* with four Forts; he often beat the Garrison and the Inhabitants, and took their Movables from them. The first took from the Malecontents *Bonail*, *St. Paul*, *Lamiatta*, and divers other little Places *. Besides, he beat the Duke of *Rohan*, block'd him up in *Viane*, with the Troops which he had brought from *Sevenes*, and constrain'd him to retire by night. The same Duke intending to take the Castle of *Sommieres*, could not effect it, neither by surprize, nor by force, because it was reliev'd by the Bailiff of *Valençay*, Governour of *Montpellier*. These Disadvantages, and many others which I forbear to mention, oblig'd *Rohan* and *Soubise* to send their Deputies to the Court, to make their Peace there. In effect, there was no probability they could make any longer resistance, because of the Division of their Party, and the greatest part of the *Hugonots* refusing to take up Arms. Besides, it was not possible for the Heads to be exactly obey'd, by People who might disobey without any peril: So that they must necessarily think of laying down their Arms; and they would never have taken them up again, if they had not by breach of Word been constrain'd to it.

* *Siri. Mem.*
Rec. T. 5.
 p. 873.

The Cardinal * had represented to the King, upon their Propositions, that whilst there was a Party on-foot in his Kingdom, he could not undertake any thing considerable abroad; and that he must first ruin this Party, before he engaged himself in such an Affair. Another perhaps would have judged, that this Party was that which could least embarrass the Court: since the *Hugonots* thought themselves always happy whilst the Edicts of

of *Nants* was observ'd, which diminish'd not the King's Revenues, and whose Observation acquir'd him the Love of the *Hugonots*, ready to employ both their Blood and Goods for him, on any account, if he would make War with *Spain*. But the Cardinal, who lov'd Arbitrary Power more than *Lewis XIII.* because in effect he enjoy'd it more than he, would not suffer any one whatsoever to implore the Succour of the Laws against his Will. It was therefore his Advice, that they should stand firm for the Affair of the *Valteline*; but he would not have the King come to an open breach with *Spain*. Nevertheless, it being necessary to treat with the *Hugonots*, that he might more advantageously do it with Foreigners, he believ'd, that in the present Conjuncture, it was good to make Peace with them, which many occasions would give opportunity to break, whenever it was thought fit.

The principal Articles of the Peace were *, That *Fort-Louis* should remain entire six Months after the Treaty; which being expir'd, it was to be demolish'd: That the *Hugonots* should yet for three Years enjoy the Places of Security remaining to them: That the building of some Forts, which they had begun about *Montauban*, should cease: That a sum of Money should be given to the Dukes of *Rohan* and *Soubise*, for all their Pretensions, on condition this last should restore the six Vessels, which they had taken from the King at the beginning of the Year.

They so much desired the conclusion of this Treaty, that they would not retard it farther, though they had an account two Days before the Subscription, that the Fleet of the *Rocbellers* had set fire to some of the King's Ships, burnt the Vice-Admiral of the *Hollanders*, and sunk three of their Vessels. There being a kind of Truce whilst the Treaty was negotiating, this Action of the *Rocbellers*, especially against the *Holland* Vessels, was generally disapprov'd. It was admired that the States-General, who were of the same Religion as the *Rocbellers*, and whose Interest it was to preserve this City, should send a Squadron to the King for to reduce it. But another Interest more pressing, which was to keep their Alliance with *France*, from which they were to have Six

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Siri Mem.
Rec. T. 5. P.

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1625. hundred thousand Crowns yearly, as long as they carried on the War with the *Spaniards*, and which hindred that he fell not on them with all his Forces: This Interest, I say, made them act on this occasion contrary to their Inclination. Their Admiral *Houtstein*, though he had Orders to assist the King's Army, to reduce *Soubise* to his Obedience, did underhand make an Agreement with the *Rochellers*, to observe a kind of Neutrality between them, in reciprocally doing each other the least hurt they could. The *Rochellers* believing they could burn all the King's Fleet, and hinder them from making use of the *Dutch* Ships against them, broke their Word, and did them the damage just spoken of.

This imprudent Action perfectly irritated the *Dutch* Admiral, and he disposed himself to revenge it the first opportunity, which fail'd not to present it self presently after. It seems the Treaty which was spoken of, was concluded, only to surprize *Roban* and *Soubise*, and appease them for some time. The War also was renew'd with more heat than before against the *Rochellers*, before the Legate departed from *Paris*. There came out of *England* seven great Vessels, which join'd the *French* Fleet, and the Squadron of the States-General, and were Commanded by the Chevalier *Rich*, making in all Sixty in number, which the *Rochellers* were no way able to resist. Then the Duke of *Montmorency*, Great Admiral of *France*, came to the Coasts of *Poitou*, to Command that Fleet, which ruin'd the Designs of the *Rochellers*.

Before this Fleet put to Sea, *Thoiras*, Governour of *Fort-Louis*, had form'd a Design to throw himself into the Isle of *Rhée*, whilst the King's Fleet should fight that of the Malecontents. He had sent a Gentleman to the Court to propose this Design, and to demand Forces necessary for it. They sent to him the Baron of *St. Gery* from the Court, to conferr with *Thoiras*, and see the Places, and whether the Measures which he propos'd, were like to render the Enterprize successful. *Gery* having judg'd the Design well contriv'd, the Court order'd that *Thoiras* should have about Seventeen hundred Men, and Six Barques, with Fifty or Sixty Horse, to be transported to the Isle of *Rhée*. His Design was to follow the Naval Army, and to make a Descent on the Isle, whilst
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the *Rochellers* should be busied to defend themselves against the Fleet which went to attack them. Although *Thoiras* had conceived this Project, the Government of that Isle belonging to the Count de *St. Luc*, the general Command of the Troops which were to execute it, was given to him; and he brought with him a number of *Voluntiers*, who sought an opportunity to signalize themselves.

The Duke of *Montmorency* embark'd himself, upon the Admiral of the *Dutch* Squadron, in the Road of *Olonne*, and set sail the 15th of *September*, two hours after midnight, the Wind being favourable. All the *Barques* follow'd him, and sail'd towards the Isle of *Rhée*, before which, in the Road of *St. Martins*, the *Rochellers* Fleet lay, consisting only of Twenty eight Vessels, and had no appearance of being able to engage Sixty; so it retir'd to the *Fosse de l'Oye*, as soon as the Navy-Royal appear'd. The *Rochellers* believ'd that their Enemies not knowing the Places as well as they, would perhaps run a-ground the Bank which lies at the entrance of the *Fosse de l'Oye*. But the *Dutch* Admiral contented himself with playing on them that Day with his Cannon, and to put himself into the Road of *St. Martins*, which the *Rochellers* had quitted. It was supposed that the Duke of *Montmorency* chose to be in this Vessel, that he might the better oblige *Houtstein* to fight vigorously against the *Rochellers*; though the Duke in Compliment said, That he having no Experience in Sea-fights, was extreamly joyful to learn that Trade under so skilful a Master.

St. Luc and *Thoiras* made the Descent the same day on the Isle of *Rhée*, under the favour of some Vollies of Cannon (which were made on the Enemy, who appear'd on the height of the Coast) by some Galliot. It was *Soubise*, who was at the head of Twelve hundred Foot, supported by an Hundred Horse, with Twenty four Pieces of Cannon; he discharged them several times upon the King's People, who landed in his sight; but whether he thought them more numerous than they were, or that he was terrified with the great number of the Men of War, who had moor'd themselves in the Road of *St. Martins*, he went away most shamefully, and

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left his Cannon behind him. The next Morning, *St. Luc* and *Thoiras* advancing towards the Town of *St. Martin*, perceiv'd *Soubise*, who came to meet them, with about Three thousand five hundred Men, and Four Pieces of Cannon, which marched before them. It seem'd so great a number would carry it; but the Militia of the *Rochellers*, and the Isle of *Rbée*, disheartned in the Fight the day before, and perhaps ill Conducted, could not stand before the King's Forces. *Soubise* seeing them routed, fled with all speed to the Island of *St. Mary*, where a Challop waited for him, in which he retired to *Oleron*, and from thence, after the defeat of their Fleet, to *England*. The next day the Fort of *St. Martins* surrender'd on Articles: So that the Army-Royal, without any considerable loss, saw it self in two days Mistress of the Isle of *Rbée*, defended by double the number of People. Besides the Inconveniencies which attended those People who had taken up Arms against the King, for the Conservation of their Privileges, that their Heads could not help them; it is certain, that the greatest part of their Commanders were such as were more fit to make Pirates than to govern Armies, or to manage those Affairs which properly belong to the Care of a General. This was the cause, that though the People were very well affected to the Party, they never came to fight but they had the worst, let their number be what it would: Besides, the fear which their principal Heads, as *Soubise*, were in, of falling into the hands of the King's People, made them too cautious of themselves; so that as soon as they saw their Troops in any disorder, they thought of nothing but retiring, instead of endeavouring to rally them, and renew the Fight.

Whilst *St. Luc* and *Thoiras* rendred themselves Masters of the Isle of *Rbée*, the Duke of *Montmorency* beat several times the *Rochelle* Fleet, being forced to attend the Wind and Tide to come at them. He took nine Vessels, and extreemly endamaged the rest, which retreated to the Isle of *Oleron*. There were nevertheless three of the King's Ships which had fastned themselves to the Yard of one of the six which the *Rochellers* had taken at *Blavet*, by the Obstinacy of that Captain, were blown up with him, he chusing rather to set fire to the Powder, than to yield him-

himself. A while after, the Isle of *Oleron* was reduced, with greater ease than that of *Rhée*: And the *Rochellers* seeing themselves despoiled of these Places, from whence they had the most part of their Provisions, because the Garrison of *Fort-Lewin*, prohibited them from getting any on the Land-side, began to think of nothing more than how to make their Peace with the Court.

The Legat was yet at *Paris*, when the News of this Victory came thither; and though it did not trouble him to see the Hereticks brought down, yet he perceiv'd with regret, that now the Court was out of that trouble, it would every day grow more firm in the Affair of the *Valteline*. The Pope, on the other side, could not tell how to see it surrendered to the *Grisons*, lest they should settle *Calvinism* there, to which the greatest part of that People were addicted. The Count de *Bethunes* in vain represented to him, That it was better to hazard this Affair, than to kindle a War amongst the Catholicks. He brought him the Example of *John I.* who at the Request of *Theodorick King of Italy*, went to *Constantinople* to oblige the Emperour *Justin* to restore to the *Arrians* their Churches, for fear lest *Theodorick*, who was an *Arrian*, should persecute the Orthodox in *Italy*.

The Pope, not willing to agree to any thing on his side, and the *French* not knowing how to resolve to take away the Sovereignty from the *Grisons*, the Legate could make no conclusion. The Affair of *Genoua* also remain'd in the same state, without any prospect of accommodation: So the Legate resolv'd to return, and would have no further Conferences with the King's Ministers: He contented himself with speaking to them particularly by himself, or by the Nuncio and the Prelates of his Train. The Marquis de *Mirabel* complain'd of him, that the Legate would treat of a thing which concern'd the Crown of *Spain*, without ever taking Advice from its Ambassador. The Legate answer'd to this, That he was not oblig'd to consult their Minister at *Paris*; yet he had not been wanting to give him an account of what pass'd, by the Nuncio. Cardinal *Barberin* complain'd on his side of the Obstinacy of Cardinal *Richlieu*, and the other Ministers of *France*, who would in no wise alter from the Propositions they had first made. The *French* also made

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their Complaints against the Legat, who in their Opinion would propose nothing that was reasonable. They said they could not comprehend how the Pope could resolve to send his Nephew, without power from the King of *Spain*, to treat in his Name, without any assurance that the Marquis of *Mirabel* would meddle with this Negotiation, and without having first clear'd to himself how far they might in Conscience relax in regard to the Catholick Religion in the *Valteline*.

The *Spaniards* would not concern themselves in this Affair, because they had said from the beginning, that they would take no part, but what the security of the Catholick Religion in the *Valteline* might prompt them to, which was more the Pope's business than theirs. By that they should put the Pope in opposition to *France*, and the Scruples of the Court of *Rome* to the *French* Maxims of State. In the Interim, the Troops which they had in the Forts of *Fuentes* and *Riva*, were in a condition to get the others, as soon as the *French* should abandon them. The Pope on his part, was not displeas'd that the *Spaniards* appear'd not in it; because he hop'd that they would take the *Valteline* from the *Grisons* and give it to him, as they had declar'd: If that had been done *Don Tadeo Barberini*, or some other of his Family, had been presently invested.

This made the *French* wish that this Affair might be treated directly with the *Spaniards*, and the Count d'*Olivarez*, first Minister of that Crown, was of the same Opinion: Were it that he desir'd Peace, as the Consequence of a new Treaty; or that he lov'd an open War rather than to remain any longer in Uncertainties. The affected Scruples of *Urban VIII.* to render himself Master of what belong'd not to him, constrain'd at last the two Crowns to treat together about this Affair, without his Intervention, as the sequel will shew.

Amongst the Articles which were drawn up in *France*, and many times corrected, to endeavour to accommodate them to the Pope's Gusto, the second imported, That the Passes of the *Valteline* and the neighbouring Counties, should remain open to *France* only as formerly: And the fourth, That those of the *Valteline*, and the two Counties of *Brusch*, and of *Poschavio*, as to what

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appertain'd to the Administration of Justice amongst them, should be exempted from the Jurisdiction Civil and Criminal of the *Grisons*; That they should themselves chuse Judges and Governours to determine all sorts of Causes between private Persons and the Communities, without the *Grisons* putting themselves into it, and without the Inhabitants of the *Valtelline's* pretending to make War, Peace, Alliances, to grant passage, coin Money, grant Favours; all which Rights should be reserv'd to the *Grisons*. * In the last Conference which the Legat had with the King's Ministers, it was discours'd much about these two Articles, and the Pope would absolutely have them reform'd; but *France* would no way allow an alteration. The *French* said, That what they had agreed for the security of the Catholick Religion in that Country, was more than those of the *Valtelline* durst even have hoped for. The Legat having no power to accept of these Articles as they were; and the *French* relaxing nothing, he shew'd himself very much griev'd that he could not accommodate those *Brouilleries*, until the Tears stood in his Eyes; and he threw, in despite, his Bonnet two or three times on the Table, as the Legat remonstrated, that the Pope, in Quality of Head of the Church, could not consent to have his Catholick Subjects remitted into the Hands of a Heretick Sovereign. The Cardinal told him, That his Holiness ought not to appear in the Treaty, but permit the *Grisons* and the Inhabitants of the *Valtelline* to agree between themselves; and, in the sequel, to leave what should be done, as the Church had been accusom'd to do in things indifferent. The Legat replied, That his Holiness might accept of that Proposal, on condition they would first remit to him the Forts of the *Valtelline*, to the end it might not be said, that the Catholicks of that Country were forc'd to treat with the *Grisons*. But the Cardinal replied, with reason, That if there was any place for presumption, that this Treaty was made forceably; it was only the *Grisons* who had reason to complain, because it was they who relaxed their own Rights, in favour of those of the *Valtelline*; That it is apparent that those who are Gainers by a Treaty, without suffering any disadvantage, cannot relieve themselves under pretence

1625. that it was done by force. And to shew that the Forts could not be remitted into the Hands of his Holiness, without speaking of their demolishment. The Cardinal demanded what security the Pope would give, that there might be a certainty that he would surrender the Sovereignty of this Country to the *Grisons*, to which he would not consent, and the King would, at what price soever, that he should render it to them: If it should remain to the *Grisons* by a Treaty which they should make with those of the *Valteline*, What security should there be that the *Spaniards* should be excluded out of the Passage? How can there be any assurance that they would demolish the Forts?

Upon the first point the Legat answer'd, That his Holiness would not hinder the Inhabitants of the *Valteline* to condescend (for so he worded it) to remain under the Sovereignty of the *Grisons*, and that there was no doubt but they were free to it. Upon the second he said, That the Pope had the Word of the *Spaniards*, That provided they would remit the Forts into his Hands, they would consent to what the *French* demanded concerning the Passage. The Cardinal replied, That it must be had in writing. And the Legat replied, That he had it not, because the *Spaniards* would not declare themselves, before the Forts were in the Hands of the Pope, but he was most assur'd of it. For the third point the Legat said, That the Pope promis'd to do what *France* desir'd: But the Cardinal replied, That in matter of Treaties, there was to be real Security, and that nothing had been offer'd but uncertain Words; That if a thing were in agitation, which depended on his Holiness, the King would entirely confide in his Word; but the Inhabitants of the *Valteline*, and more especially the *Spaniards*, accusom'd to violate their Faith given, might hinder his Holiness to execute what he had promis'd. The Legat said, That could never be; but if it should happen against the Intention of the Pope, he would surrender the Forts neither to the *Spaniards* nor the *French*, but keep them. Upon this the Cardinal propos'd to him this other Question; Whether he believ'd, that the King, who was in League with the Republick of *Venice* and the Duke of *Savoy*, to the in-

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sent that the *Grisons* should be re-establish'd in their ancient Authority, ought, after he had been at infinite Charges to bring it about, to put things in the Condition he found them, or to leave them in an Estate far worse? He added, That this was just what was propos'd, since for security they gave only the Pope's Word; the execution of which depended on the Inhabitants of the *Valtelline* and the *Spaniards*, who would be glad to spin out a thing in length, as they had hitherto done, and who would make the Catholics of the *Valtelline*, who acted nothing but by their Motion, do whatever they should think fit; That if those of the *Valtelline* and the *Spaniards* should forfeit their Word to the Pope, he knew very well that he might take Vengeance; but besides his being mortal (for as to Expedients, in case that should happen, nothing was propos'd but the keeping of Forts, which was a Remedy as bad as the Disease, since the *Grisons* would still find themselves spoil'd of a Country which belong'd to them) the Cardinal represented farther to the Legat, That for one imaginary Scruple they were about to set all *Europe* into a Flame. To which the Legat replied, That if there wanted his Blood only to extinguish it, he would shed it most willingly, but he had not any power to advance other Propositions. The Cardinal demanded presently of *Spada*, and of *Azzolini*, who were present, Whether they would advise the King's Ministers, to run the Risques propos'd to him? They ingenuously answer'd, No. But the King might well frame this Design himself, although no Minister ought to be so bold as to take the Charge of Events on himself.

After this Conference the Legat spoke of nothing but of departing; and the 22d of *September* he had his Audience of *Conge*, and without Ceremony departed on the 24th. After he had taken leave of the King once more, but in private, as Cardinal *Barberin*, and not in Quality of Legat. Having after a manner bid adieu, he took his Coach, without having his Dispatches, and saying nothing where he would lodge. The King, who would have defray'd his Charges, as he had from his Entrance into the Realm, was vex'd, and sent Orders for his being treated every where, as had been done unto his departure

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parture. The Nuncio *Spada* excus'd him upon this, that he would avoid all sorts of Ceremonies; but the true Reason of his so sudden departure was, because he would not be at the Court in the time, when they were to make at *Fountainbleau* an Assembly of Notables, to treat of the Measures which were to be taken in these present Conjunctures. It was easie to foresee, that there they would infinitely extol the Conduct of the Cardinal of *Richlieu*, and blame that of the Court of *Rome*; in which case it was not befitting for the Legat to stay any longer in *France*.

Although they would not as yet grant him any thing, yet would they have been glad he had stay'd longer at the Court, to see in the mean time, what Train the Affairs of *Italy* would take, and afterwards to act conformable to it. He was told by the Fathers, *Joseph* and *Berule*, That if he would stay, he should have the satisfaction to see, that the King, in consideration of him, instead of the Peace which he had given to the *Hugonots* some Weeks before, would make War upon them with greater vigour than ever; That there would be a Council of Notables held, where none of those of the Parliament would be opposite to the Court of *Rome*, and where perhaps something would be resolv'd, advantageous to his Negotiation; That, in fine, there might well be a suspension of Arms between the two Crowns. The Legat regarded not all this; and *Spada* excus'd him very well, in saying, that there was nothing which concern'd the Legat of what the King did, if having beaten the *Rochellers*, he had made use of the advantage which he had, to pull that Thorn out of his Foot; That the Assembly of Notables was not to give the King Counsel, but to authorise that which his Ministers had given him; That for the suspension of Arms, it was perhaps the Estate in which the Affairs of the Crown in *Italy* were, which caus'd it to be spoken of. But then, it must be demanded of the *Spaniards*, who would not have it. and not of *France*, which perhaps might have need of it, and sought it only to gain time to send Succours into *Piedmont*; after which, if she had any advantage, she would speak in quite another Tone, as she had been accusom'd to do in Prosperity.

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These and such like Discourses, which *Spada* sometimes held, had rendred him odious to Cardinal *Richlieu* for almost a Year before the departure of the Legat. In the Conferences which he had had with the Cardinal, he had more than once piqued that Minister, who was accus'd to be proud, subject to Choler, and revengeful, now only by speaking to him, as to a Counsellor of the King, but taking him in his proper person. One day when they were much heated, *Spada* threatned the Cardinal, with the indignation of the Pope; the Cardinal jeering, ask'd him what the Pope would do to him: *Spada* replied, he would take away the Hat which he had given him. The Cardinal, more vers'd in things present than in the Histories of times past, reparteed, It was a thing without Example; and *Spada* replied, That Histories were full of it. This Quarrel gave the the Cardinal an aversion for the Nuncio, whose Negotiations became afterwards more difficult.

Presently after the Legat's departure, an Assembly of * *Sep. 15.* Notables * was summon'd at *Fountainbleau*, in presence of the King, the Queen-Mother, and the Duke of *Orleans*; it was compos'd of four Cardinals, of Archbishops and Bishops, Deputies of the Clergy; the Dukes of *Nemours*, of *Longueville*, and of *Chevreuse*, of the Privy Council; the Secretaries of State, the Superintendants, and Intendants of the Finances, the Presidents and Officers of the Parliament of *Paris*, the Mareschals *de Bassompierre*, *de Schomberg*, *d'Aubeterre*, and other Officers of the Crown, convocated by exprefs Order of the King. Although the Kings of *France*, in the important Affairs of Peace and War, take those Resolutions which please them best, without communicating to their Ministers what they think necessary, this Assembly is convened to treat of an Affair which may concern partly the State, and partly Religion. The Cardinal of *Richlieu* had engag'd the King to this, to discharge upon those which compos'd it, the hatred which his Envyers had endeavour'd to draw on him, under pretence that he had advis'd the King to unite himself with divers Protestant Powers against the House of *Austria*. They particularly accus'd him with giving Peace to the *Hugonots*, and protecting the *Calvinist Grisons* against

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\* *Siri Mem.*  
*Rec. T. 6. p.*  
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against the Catholick Inhabitants of the *Valteline*, as if the Good of the State had not requir'd it.

The King and the Queen-Mother being sat, \* and the others standing, the King told the Assembly, That the Chancellor should tell them wherefore he had assembled them : And the Chancellor taking the Word, began with the Alliances and the Treaties which the Crown had with the *Grisons* ; and after, inform'd them of what had pass'd in relation to the *Valteline*, and the Propositions which the Legat had made, remitting the more particular Circumstances to what the Marechal *de Schomberg* should say. He afterwards fell upon the departure of the Legat, who had given several Marks of his being discontented, although they had done him all imaginable Honours, and had endeavour'd to stay him a little longer, In fine, he enlarg'd to demonstrate the falsity of that Proposition, which some Divines of *Italy* had maintain'd, *That it was not permitted to Catholicks to restore Lands to Hereticks*, by drawing from thence pernicious Consequences, which might arise in respect of Secular Princes. The Marechal *Schomberg* proceeded on the Chancellor's Discourse, more to declare his Opinion, than to expound the Affairs then in Transaction. He complain'd of the great variation he had observ'd in the manner of the Legat's negotiating, and of the other Ministers of the Court of *Rome*, who had only spoken of the restitution of the Forts of the *Valteline*, and at last had yet left it undetermin'd. He added also, That they would not at all declare, whether they had power from the *Spaniards* to treat in their Name, or not : That being press'd thereto, they said, That they had in their Hands wherewith to satisfy the King ; and in the Sum of the account, they confess'd that they had not any Power in behalf of the *Spaniards* ; That at other times they had said, That *Bormio* might be surrendred by the *Grisons* ; and that at present they would not leave them any Marks of Sovereignty. In fine, his opinion was, that the Propositions of the Court of *Rome* were to be rejected. The Queen-Mother thereupon said something in praise of the Legat, as loving Peace, and being well inclin'd to *France*. After which there was so long a silence, that the Chancellor was oblig'd to say, That if there were any one

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in that Assembly who had any good Counsel to give about the matters which were then in debate, the King permitted him to do it. 1625.

The Cardinal *de Sourdis* took upon him to say, That the Pope might complain of this ; That at the beginning of his Pontificate, the *Spaniards* took him for a *Frenchman* ; and that at present the *French* complain'd that he was a *Spaniard*. He exhorted the King to use his Endeavours to gain him ; and added, That he saw no better Expedient to accommodate the difference between the two Crowns, than a suspension of Arms ; That Peace was to be preferr'd to War, provided it was Honourable ; but in case it could not that way be obtain'd, they were to obtain their Rights by Arms, after they had convinc'd all the World of the Justice of their Cause. In fine, his opinion was for Peace, such as the Pope desir'd ; that is to say, by remitting the *Valtelline* to him ; in which his Holiness demanded nothing, in his Judgment, but what was conformable to the Head of the Church, and in which his Majesty would do nothing but what was requisite for its eldest Son.

The Cardinal of *Richlieu*, being disturb'd at what he said, and not being willing to speak in publick, that Day, had at the beginning withdrawn out of the Ring, and seated himself on a Bench against the Wall, with Monsieur and the Cardinal *de la Valette*. But when he saw the Cardinal *de Sourdis* begin, he drew near, and by his Gestures shew'd, that he disapprov'd his Opinion, and particularly the suspension of Arms. Also as soon as he had given over speaking, he took the Word, and began to say, That although his Profession rendred him partial, since the Transaction was, whether War or Peace ; yet the Reputation of his Majesty oblig'd him to speak freely his Sentiments. He after this praised Peace, and said, That his Majesty was oblig'd in Conscience, as much as possibly he could do, to procure it with Honour. One would have thought that what he intended to say, by this beginning, was to counsel the King to the same things which he who spoke before him had done, but his conclusion was quite contrary ; That he saw not how the King could honourably make Peace

1625. Peace in the present Conjunctures ; That the Duty of a King, and the Title of *Most Christian*, were not incompatible, and ought not to be separated ; That as by his Quality of *Most Christian*, the King ought to have care of the Catholick Religion, and those who made Profession of it in the *Valteline* ; so in his Quality of King, he ought not to neglect his Reputation, nor the Interest of his States, or those of his Allies, nor regard it as a thing indifferent, to be consider'd as a Prince, without Honour, without Power, and without Faith ; That for to get out with Honour, he must resolve on a long War, and that way preserve to *France* the Passage by the *Valteline*, and to the *Grisons* their Sovereignty ; That if *France* abandon'd her Allies, she would not find in the sequel any support amongst her Neighbours, who would be sure to quit her, to unite themselves with *Spain* ; That presently, when the neighbouring Potentates should behold the King full of Constancy and Courage, they would be for him, and would never forsake him, whilst he should persist in that Disposition ; That Honour was the true Patrimony of Kings ; and that his Majesty ought to hazard all to preserve his ; That the King's Treasures were in very good condition, since his Superintendents assur'd him, that they had wherewithal to pay four Musters ; that is to say, eight Months Pay for the Troops on foot, and the Levies which were to be made, without touching the Capital, or having recourse to extraordinary ways, or anticipating the next Year ; That the Affairs of *Spain* began to grow worse in *Italy*, and that their Army was extremely diminished ; That the Victory which the King had obtain'd over the *Roc'hellers*, assur'd the quiet of the Kingdom, and gave place to hope, that they would in a short time be reduc'd to their Duty. He concluded after this, as if every body was of his mind, and the majority of Votes conformable to his ; That a Courier must be expedited to the Legat, to let him know, that the Assembly was of the same Sentiments with the Cabinet Council : But the King would not give over to hear Propositions of Peace, which might be compatible with his Reputation ; and if they would not do it, his Armies, who had met so happy beginnings, would resume

sume their first vigour, though in the Summer they had been somewhat diminished. 1625.

The Cardinal *de la Valette* thereupon said, That he was at *Rome* when the Pope establish'd a Congregation of Divines, to know how far he might relax his Conscience touching the Affair of the *Valteline*, and if he might remit Catholick Inhabitants of that Country, under the Domination of the *Grisons*; and that the Divines had answer'd, That he might, and ought to do it, because Religion no way authoris'd Injustice. As to the rest, he was of the same opinion with Cardinal *Richlieu*.

The Premier President spoke after him, and said nothing else, but that so wise a Prince, assisted by Counsellors of the highest Prudence, had no need of his Counsel, nor of any whatsoever; so that he had nothing to do but to command, that it was his Duty to obey, which he offered in the Name of all the Parliament.

After this, no person speaking a Word more, the King rose up, without taking any Resolution in publick, and dismiss'd the Assembly. But the Advice of the Cardinal was put in execution; and Couriers were sent, not only to the Pope and the Legat, but also to the Ambassadors of the Crown, to inform them of what had pass'd. They wrote particularly to the Count *du Fargis*, Ambassador in *Spain*; That the difficulty of all this Negotiation proceeded from the King's not having immediately treated by their Ministers, the Pope not being able to resolve on that which a Secular Prince would have easily done: Wherefore Orders were given to him, to see if the Count *d'Olivarez*, who had shew'd some Desires of Peace, would make no overture to him to surmount this difficulty.

The Negotiation of the Legat having been at last divulg'd, the Duke of *Savoy*, by his Ambassador, \* highly complain'd, That the King had not had any regard to his Interests, nor had caus'd a Word to be spoken to the Legat, about any satisfaction to him, to be made concerning the Marquisate of *Zuccarello*: But he complain'd much more the year following, as you will see by what follows.

In † the mean time *Papenheim*, who was at *Riva* with a German Regiment, attack'd some French Troops, which the

\* *Siri Mem.*  
*Rec. T. 6. p.*  
*32.*

† *Mem. de*  
*Bessomp. T. 2.*  
*p. 434.*



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the Marquis de Cœuvres had put into *Verfeil*, and *Campo*, little places about the Lake of *Coma*, beat them; and took from them twelve pieces of Cannon, and also eleven Barks which were upon the Lake. This News being come to Court, they believ'd the *Valteline* to be lost. But *Papenbeim* not having push'd on his point, the *Venetians*, advertis'd of what had pass'd, sent Forces enough to *Cœuvres* to repulse *Papenbeim*, if he made any further Attempts. With this Succour and some Troops that came from *France*, \* the Marquis went to assail the *Spaniards* in some Posts, where they were retrench'd and barricado'd two days before, and paid them in the same Coin, by beating them from those Posts; so that the Affairs of of the *Valteline* were in as good a condition as formerly.

\* *Octob. 7.* Sequel of the Rebellion of *France*, p. 263. and following.

\* About the middle of *Novemb.* *ibid.* p. 384.

A little time after \* the *Rochellers* sent their Deputies to the Court to endeavour a Peace. They had much ado to obtain Audience of the King: But the Constable having wrote very urgently to the King to induce him to grant a Peace, that he might be in a better condition to make War abroad, it was resolv'd to hear them, and to keep them in expectation as long as they could, to see if before the conclusion of a Peace with them, there might an accommodation be made with *Spain*.

These Deputies having thrown themselves at the King's Feet, began to shew much grief, for their having taken up Arms against him; and without undertaking to justify themselves, they begg'd his pardon, in most submissive Terms, to move him to pity, and supplicated him to grant them Peace. The King answer'd them, That they had behav'd themselves very ill, and insolently towards him, but he would pardon them, and grant them Peace on the Conditions which the Chancellor should tell them.

These Conditions were, I. 'That the Council and 'the Government of *Rochel* should be put into the Hands 'of those of the Body of the City, as it was in the 'Year 1610.

II. 'That it should receive a Superintendant of Justice, to hinder the Differences and Partialities which 'might happen in the City, to administer Justice there, 'and settle Trade.

III. 'That

III. 'That all the Fortifications should be demolish'd, 1625.  
'and the City reduc'd to the ancient Circuit, such as it  
'was in the year 1560.

IV. 'That his Majesty should be receiv'd there with  
'the Respect due to him, at all times that it should please  
'him to give them the Honour of visiting them.

V. 'That the *Rochellers* should not keep in their Port  
'any Vessels of War; and that all others destin'd for Pri-  
'vateers, or Mercandize, should have the Admiral's leave,  
'as was practis'd in other places in the Kingdom, and  
'should not depart out of the Port before eight days no-  
'tice given to the Intendent of Justice.

VI. 'That all Goods belonging to the Ecclesiasticks  
'should be restor'd, as well as the Carts, Horses, and  
'Merchandize of some Merchants of *Orleans*.

VII. 'That as to the rest, it was the King's Pleasure  
'that the *Rochellers* should fully and peaceably enjoy  
'all their priviledges of freedom of Trade and of the E-  
'dict of *Nantz*.

The Deputies, after they had receiv'd these Articles, carried them to *Rochelle*, to advise what Answer should be return'd thereto. In the mean time that City was kept blockt up as before; and the *Mareschal de Themines* was nam'd General of the Army which oppos'd the Incurfions of the *Rochellers*. Divers vigorous Sallies were made, and many Rencounters, wherein sometime the King's People, and sometimes the *Rochellers*, had the better.

*Urban VIII.* was resolv'd long since to send the same Cardinal into *Spain* which had been in *France*, to try if he could obtain that of the *Spaniards*, which he could not from the *French*: But he was to make some stay at *Rome* before he went for *Madrid*, for fear the *Spaniards* should be displeas'd and complain, That the Pope had given the preference to the most Christian King, if the Cardinal *Barberin* had gone immediately from *France* into *Spain*. In the Interim, the Pope gave Orders to *Spada* to renew the Negotiation with the King's Ministers. For this end, having gone to see the Cardinal of *Richlieu*; and having begun to discourse of the differences which had been so long talked of, the Cardinal told him, That it was a Game where they might play with

1625. with few Men, since all was reduc'd to three Points ; The Interest of the *Grisons*, That of the King, and That of the Allies. For the first point, the Cardinal said, That without obliging himself to any thing he would declare frankly to the Nuncio his Opinion ; which was, that a Restoration must be made to the *Grisons* of the Sovereignty of the Country, as had been formerly agreed. As to the second, he judg'd, that way was to be found to secure that the King of *Spain* should no more have open Passage through the *Valtelline*. All the difficulty of the third, consisted in satisfying the Duke of *Savoy*, nor as that Prince imagin'd he ought to be, but according to the Rules of Equity.

The Nuncio made some Reflections on the first and second of these Articles, but fix'd on nothing, for fear he should extort some angry Answer from the Cardinal, who had retain'd himself in Generalities. Afterwards the Cardinal told him, That he would root out the *Hugonots* ; but first he must of necessity once more scandalize the World. The Nuncio replied, That if he could do good without first doing evil, it would be much more to his Glory ; and that the evil depending only on our selves, and the good on others, as well as the evil Consequences of the first were present and certain, and the Benefit expected, hid in futurity, and little assur'd. *Spada* compris'd in this, \* That the Cardinal had a design to make Peace with the *Hugonots* and lull them asleep, and then destroy them ; and that so he had the same end with those which spoke against Peace with the *Hugonots*, that is to say, their ruin.

After this the Cardinal fell on boasting, That he govern'd all with going, only three times in a Week to the *Louvre* ; although that was sufficiently troublesome to him. He added, That the King was every day more kind to him, and excited him to ask new Favours, but that he had told him he would have but one, but so great, that perhaps his Majesty might think it strange, which was to have a place in the History of his *Reign* ; but he would not have it, except at the same time his Majesty acquir'd a Kingdom.

They afterwards fell back upon the Affairs of the *Valtelline* ; and the Nuncio, after divers Reflections, said, That

\* *Siri, Mem.*  
Rec. T. 6.  
p. 33.

That to discover the secret of the Affair, it must needs be that the Cardinal must think of satisfying the *Spaniards* or the Pope, so as he might shut the *Spaniards* Mouths; and that could never be, without disengaging those of the *Valteline* from the Sovereignty of the *Grisons*; without which the Pope could not joyn with the King of *France* to appease the King of *Spain*. The Cardinal shew'd, that he was oblig'd to the Nuncio that he put confidence in him; and added, That it would be very difficult, though not impossible, to obtain of the Council the ratification of those Articles which had been propos'd at *Rome*, concerning the Religion of those of the *Valteline*, and that he despair'd not at all, but that they might consent to give them a Catholick Governour, and one of that Country, but then he must be named by the *Grisons*; That for the restitution of the Forts to the Pope, It was a thing extreamly delicate, not only for the *French*, who since four Years had not ceas'd to complain of those Fortifications, but also for their Allies; and that neither the one nor the other would after so many Fatigues, so great Expences and Dangers which they had been at, to render themselves Masters of what they held, restore them on the Word of the Pope, since a thousand things might happen, to delay or hinder the demolition of the Forts; and that the *Spaniards* might intermeddle or work their own advantage by it; That nevertheless, the Overture of the Nuncio was founded upon Equity, there might be some means thought of to satisfy the Pope, and make the demolition certain; as to keep Troops on the Frontiers of *Avignon*; under which pretext the Countie of *Avignon*, might be as a Pledge for the observation of the Treaty. The Nuncio replied, It would be sufficient for that, that the Legate should remain during that time in *France*. That might be a thing to be consider'd, replied the Cardinal, provided the Pope declar'd by a Letter, that he left him there as an Hostage. The Nuncio having rejected that Proposition, they came to the third Article; and the Cardinal said, That there was no talking after any fashion of giving any satisfaction to the King of *Spain*, without wronging either the Reputation or Interest of the most Christian King; and that it was easier to abandon

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1625. the *Hollanders*, as *Spain* had desir'd, without saying any thing, than to promise it either by word of Mouth, or writing. For what regarded the Sovereignty of the *Grisons* over the *Valtelline*; That he was a Divine as well as others, and that he knew that they might be left there in all security of Conscience.

\* Mem. de  
Bassomp. T. 2.  
p. 335.

At the end of this Year *Miron*, the King's Ambassador in Ordinary with the *Swiss Cantons*; and all those which did the Affairs of the Crown amongst those people, did write, \* That their Affection towards the King was extremely alter'd; That more than twenty five thousand *Germans* had had open Passage through *Switzerland*, to go and serve the *Spaniards* in *Italy*; That the Alliance of the *Swissers* was insensibly coming to nothing, if timely care was not taken; That the chiefest means of retrieval was to send the *Mareschal de Bassompierre* to the *Cantons*, who was Colonel of the *Swiss Troops* in *France*, because the *Swissers* had a great esteem for him. The *Venetians* and the Duke of *Savoy* made the same Proposals to engage the King to send him; insomuch that it was concluded he should go. \* *Novemb. 18.* He departed as Ambassador Extraordinary \* some time after; and at his Arrival, the *Cantons Schwitz* of *Uri* and *Zuy*, sent him Declarations; by which they protested to stop the Passages to all Potentates who should not approve of the Rendition of the *Valtelline* to the *Grisons*; and the other *Cantons* prepar'd to do the same. The *Spaniards*, against whom this was, drew themselves out of the Affair, by saying they would declare themselves thereupon, when the Forts should be in the hands of the Pope.

\* April 6.

Some Weeks after that, the *Mareschal de Bassompierre* parted for *Switzerland*, the Court sent *Blainville* into *England*, in Quality of Ambassador Extraordinary, to complain of the Breaches which the new King *Charles* (for King *James* was dead sometime before the Queen pass'd over Sea) had made in the Matrimonial Contract concluded in *France*, Scarcely was the Queen his Spouse arriv'd at *London*, and the Articles of the Contract publish'd among the *English*; but almost all the Protestant people took the Alarm, as if this Marriage had been only made to introduce the Catholick Religion

in *England*. In effect, the King had agreed to so many things, in favour of the Queen's *French* Domesticks, and the *English* Catholicks, and taken so little care for the Education of his Children, which might be born of this Marriage, in the Protestant Religion, that unless he was resolv'd to break his Word, the Articles of the Contract were to be look'd on as a design to strengthen the Catholick Party in *England*, which could not be done without diminishing the force of that of the Protestants. Perhaps King *James* irritated against the *Presbyterians*, who had been very troublesome to him as well as to his Mother, was willing to frame a Party more opposite to them than the *English* Episcoparians were. Perhaps he thought to be absolute Master of the Laws, by introducing a division amongst the people, who by that means would no longer be in a condition to defend their Priviledges. Let it be as it will, it is certain, that he and his Son gave opportunity to believe, that they should not be angry to see the Catholicks powerful in *England*. It was also complain'd of that they were engag'd in a thing which was not in their power to relax; viz. the *Penal Laws* against the Catholicks, establish'd by many Acts of Parliament. So the King, urged on by the Parliament, held at *Oxford*, and by the general Complaints of the whole *English* Nation, was oblig'd in regard to them, to act quite contrary to what he had promis'd. This the King understood by the Duke of *Chevreuse's* return, who had accompany'd the Queen unto *London*, of *Ville-aux-clers*, and of *D'Essiat*, Extraordinary Ambassadors, and by the Letters of the Bishop of *Mande*, of Father *Berule*, and many others. Besides *Charles's* Indulgence to the Catholicks, the *French* Priests which were in *England*, more in Quality of Missionaries than Domesticks to the Queen, had carried with them the Spirit of Mission; which is ordinarily to intrigue themselves in all Affairs as much as possible, and to make a great bustle, because the more a Missionary makes himself to be talk'd of, the greater is his Recompence at the return of the Mission. The indiscretion of these people, who fancied themselves already possess'd of the best Benefices of *England*, caus'd great disorder at Court, and begun to draw upon the

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King a Party which at last ruin'd him, without any advantage to the Catholick Religion; on the contrary, it had been ruin'd by him, had not the Sons, who had the same Designs as the Father, endeavour'd its restoration. I will go no further into the *Brouilleries* of *England*. It may be enough to tell you, that the Court of *France*, by maintaining the Queen, as much as possible endeavour'd to avoid a War with *England*, which nevertheless it could not put off.

*Soubise*, who was in *England*, was in truth not receiv'd at Court; but the King notwithstanding durst not command him to depart the Kingdom, for fear of vexing the Protestant People, who already murmured with reason, that contrary to all Interest of Policy and Religion, the King had sent seven Vessels against the *Rochellers*. It had been said, That it was the Interest of *Charles* to aid the King of *France*, to become absolute Master at home, and to destroy *Calvinism*; whilst the Council of *Lewis XIII.* judged, that good Policy required, that *France* should manage things quite contrary in respect of *England*, where it endeavour'd as much as possible to settle the Catholick Religion, and there form a Party, which must needs be troublesome to a Protestant King. The *English*, who were persuaded that the Policy of the *French* was better than that of their own King, obliged him presently to act otherwise in respect of the *Rochellers*.

\* *Octob. 22.*  
See *Siri Mem.*  
*Rec. T. 6. p.*  
*69.*

He said \*, That it could never be imagined that one should think him so ill-natur'd, as to forsake his Kinsman in affliction, reduced to the last necessity of the same Religion as he, and particularly belov'd of his People: That he had hoped, that they would have brought him Thanks in behalf of the most Christian King, because he would never receive *Soubise* at the Court, but only suffer'd his Ships not to be driven out of the Ports of *England*; that in truth he thought it not fit they should go out to make Courses on the *French*. But the most Christian King would also do well to grant Peace to his Subjects, that he might be the better enabled to act against his Enemies: That *Henry IV.* his Father had given refuge in *France* to the Count of *Botswel*, who had made an attempt on the Person of his Father King *James*;

*James*; and had made this excuse, That all the Kings of the World had right to give Sanctuary to whom they pleased. *Blainville* replied, That he very well knew, that as to the rigour, he might give retreat to *Soubise*; but he ought also to think, that *France* might one day give him the same Vexation, and perhaps on more important occasions; but if his Majesty would live amicably with a great King who was his Brother-in-Law, he would have many things to say, in contradiction to this Proceeding: That nevertheless if he took so much part as to the Person of *Soubise*, he would speak no more of it; but he would not do the same in respect of the Ships, which for the most part belong'd to the King, or to his Subjects, from whom *Soubise* had taken them; and he demanded their restitution, or the King would cause them to be taken where-ever he found them.

Much different from hearing these Complaints and Threats, the King of *England* re-demanded his Ships of the King of *France*; and they not restoring them, he caused several *French* Vessels which were in the Ports of *England*, to be arrested. In the mean time, the *Robellers*, who perceived by the Conditions which were offer'd them, that they intended to deprive them of their Privileges; and to put them out of condition to resent it, had sent Deputies to *London* to demand Succours, in case the Wars should continue. They receiv'd \* good entertainment from the Privy-Council; and in effect Orders were given to put a part of the Fleet in a readiness.

Novemb. 22

During this, not to make too brisk a Breach with the *French*, the King of *England* sent two Ambassadors to *Paris*, viz. the Earl of *Holland* and *Carleton*, to induce that King to make a League with *England*, for the re-establishment of the Elector *Palatine*: They had also Orders to endeavour to procure Peace to the *Robellers*, and to re-demand of that King the Ships of War which were lent him the Year before. They demanded these \* three things at their first Audience; and the King answered as to the first, That he had Reasons not to make any such League; but perhaps he would cause the Elector to be restor'd without it. To the second he said, That if the *Robellers* would return to their Duty, he would not re-

1626.

Jan. 24.



1626. fuse them Peace; but he would not engage to treat about it with any one whatsoever, and that they ought to expect it from his sole Bounty. As to the Vessels, the King declar'd that he was ready to restore one Ship of War belonging to his Majesty of *Great Britain*; but the six others being Merchant Ships armed for War, he could not be oblig'd to return them, whilst he had occasion for them, since he would not have asked them but for that use, and that he had made a Contract for them.

\* Jan. 30.

In speaking concerning the *Rochellers*, the Ambassadors had said, That they had not any League with them; and if they demanded Peace for them, it was as Friends of *France*, and because they desired all their Forces might be employ'd against the *Spaniards*. Notwithstanding,\* but a little after, the Council of *England* resolv'd on three things, very opposite to the Designs of *Lewis XIII.* The first was openly to assist *Rochelle*; the second, to re-call the Ambassadors from *France*; and the third, to send the Duke of *Buckingham* for this Expedition, which was to be authoriz'd by Act of Parliament. *Buckingham* at that time said to *Blainville*, That he was troubled to see the Two Crowns embroil'd in such a manner, as that he must lose the fruit of all the Services he had done to *France*, and found himself in danger to give account of his Actions to the Parliament: That the King his Master had helped to ruin *Soubise*, out of the sole Affection which he had to the *French* King, and thinking that he would content himself with the punishment of one rebellious Subject: But now he saw that they labour'd wholly to extirpate those of his Religion, he could no longer stand neuter, without incurring the blame of all the World; and that all his People, and all his Council, would oblige him with common Consent to undertake their Defence. *Buckingham* added to this, That *France* expos'd its Allies to great danger by this Conduct; and that the *Spaniards* would certainly take advantage by these Divisions. He further said, That if the War should break out between the Two Crowns, the Queen and her Domesticks would suffer much, without possibility to hinder it.

The King advertised of this Disposition of the *English*, and fearing a Rupture from *Spain*, was resolv'd to conclude

clude with the *Rochellers*. They had sent their Deputies <sup>1626.</sup> to *Paris* at the beginning of the Year ; but they not having brought the Ratification of the Articles, which they had put into their hands in the Month of *September*, the King would not see them, but left them to the *Mareschal de Schomberg*, who had Orders to hear them. They had offer'd to reform their Magistracy, as had been given to understand it was required ; but they would hear nothing of an Intendant of Justice. For their Fortifications, they would rase only those which were made since the Year 1621. and on condition that *Fort-Lewis* should also be demolish'd, and those which were begun in the *Isles of Rhée and Oleron*. There appear'd no more, in the Discourses and Manners of the Deputies, that fear which they seem'd to be in, after the Defeat in the Month of *September*. The Threats which were made to them, disturbed them not much, were it that they expected foreign Succours, as they had been promised from *England*, or that they hoped that the rest of the *Hugonots* would take Arms. In effect, those of the *Vivarez* surpriz'd *Poussin*, a small Place on the *Rhone*, from whence they made Incurfions on the Neighbourhood, and extreamly incommoded the Carriages which were made over that River ; but the Constable de *Lesdigueres* re-took it soon afterwards.

The Cardinal was not a little disappointed in this Conjunction, because he desired two very difficult things ; one was Peace at home ; the other, that the Interests and Reputation of the State should be so well maintain'd abroad, that no Weakness might appear. Had he relaxed much for the foreign Interests, he had not been well assur'd of a domestick Peace. The *Hugonots* were not the most to be fear'd, because the Oblervation of the Edict of *Nants* would easily appease them : But he found a most powerful Party of the Catholicks to rise against him, whom the Prince of *Condé*, whom the Ministers, after he had estranged himself from Court, would not suffer to return, might serve to head. The People envied much the Authority of the Cardinal ; and being unwilling to depend upon him, had a plausible pretext to raise the Catholicks, zealous against him as a Favourer of Hereticks, a Crime wherewith they already made a

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great noise in *Spain*, and at the Court of *Rome*. This, if Peace should be made with the *Hugonots*, which yet was necessary in the Disposition in which *England* then stood, might be said properly to cheat the Catholick People, and to raise those who were inflam'd with Zeal for the extirpation of Hereticks, who had caused so many Misfortunes in the World, that by a pernicious piece of Policy, the Cardinal had omitted the Opportunity to take *Rochelle*; the only Rampart of the *Hugonots*, and *Affylum* of all the Enemies of the Crown.

Before advice came of the Inclinations of the Council of *England*, the Court had very ill treated the Deputies of *Rochelle*; and the *Mareschal de Schomberg* told them, That if the King used them as he ought, he would cause them to be hanged. They were thereupon upon the point of retiring; but they order'd matters so, as made them attend some days; and the *Duke de la Trimoüille* having wrote to his Brother the Count de *Laval*, who was in *Rochelle*, to propose for himself more advantageous Articles than the former. In fine, as there had been yet no Overture to accommodate the foreign Differences, and *England* busying it self in favour of the *Hugonots*, it was judg'd of necessity to make a Peace with them: It was concluded and signed the 5th. of *February*; and the Articles run in these terms:

\* Sequel of  
the Rebellion  
of *France*, p.  
438.

\* The King being desirous to give Peace to his Subjects which were of the pretended *Reformed Religion* in the City of *Rochelle*, which they requested of him with all instances of Submission and Respect, granted it to them on the following Conditions:

## I.

\* That the Council and Government of *Rochelle* shall be put and establish'd in the hands of those who are of the Body of that City, in the form they were in, in the Year 1610.

## II.

\* That they shall receive a Commissary, to cause those things to be executed which shall be order'd by the Peace, and to stay there during his Majesty's Pleasure.

III. \* That

## III.

' That they shall have no Ships of War in their City, and shall observe in their Traffick the usual Forms establish'd in the Kingdom, without derogation in what concerns their Commerce and Privileges.

## IV.

' That they shall restore to the Ecclesiasticks all their Goods, which they shall have in their possession, conformable to the Edict of the Year 1558. and to its execution.

## V.

' That they shall suffer the Catholicks fully and peaceably to enjoy the Exercises and Functions of the Catholick Religion, Apostolical and Roman, and the Goods belonging to them in the said City, and restore whatsoever shall be found in kind; and shall raise the Fort of *Tadon*, by them lately built.

## VI.

' That because his Majesty cannot agree to the raising of *Fort-Lewis*, which those of *Rochele* require; he promises, out of his Bounry, to cause such Orders to be establish'd in the Garrisons which he shall please to leave in the said Fort, as also in the Isles of *Rhée* and *Oleron*, that the *Rochellers* shall not receive any trouble or impediment in the security and liberty of Commerce, which they shall make according to the Laws, Orders, and Customs of the Kingdom, nor in the enjoyment of the Goods, and gathering the Fruits they shall have in those Isles.

When these Articles were to be signed, the Cardinals of *Richlieu* and *Rocheboucaud* went out of the Council, that they might not appear too publickly to consent to any Truce with the Hereticks, though the first had been strongly opinionated in favour of the Peace.

To conclude more firmly the appeasing of the *Hugonots*, the King publish'd an Edict in the Month of *March*; \* but it was not verified in the Parliament of *Paris*, till the 6th of *April*. See the Abridgment of his Articles. \* Sequel of the Rebellion France p. 438.

I. ' That



I. ' That the Edict of *Nantz*, Declarations and secret Articles, published and registred in Parliament, in favour of those of the pretended Reformed Religion, should be observed.

II. ' That the Catholick Religion should be observed in all those Places in which it had been intermitted, with prohibition of disturbance to the Ecclesiasticks, to whom their Goods were to be restored.

III. ' That the Exercise of the pretended Reformed Religion, should be re-establish'd in all Places where it was in the Year 1620,

IV. ' That the King would grant pardon for all Enterprizes for the time past ; as levying of Arms, Money, and the like.

V. ' That the Articles 74, 75, 78, 79. of the Edicts of *Nantz*, should be entertain'd.

VI. ' That the Translations of Justices, the Offices, and the Receipts of the Finances , should be disannull'd.

VII. ' That those of the pretended Reformed Religion, should be discharged of all Judgments and Sentences given against them.

VIII. ' That the Prisoners of War, who had not yet paid any Ransom, should be released.

IX. ' That the 27th. Article of the Edict of *Nantz*, should be observed.

X. ' That the 82d. Article of the same Edict should be executed.

XI. ' That those of the pretended Reformed Religion, should not keep any Assemblies without the King's Grant, only in things simply concerning the Regulation of the Discipline of their Religion. That they should make no Fortifications, without permission from the King.

XII. ' That the Articles agreed on for *Rebelle*, the Isles and Country of *Aunis*, should be kept.

This Peace made with the *Hugonots*, gave occasion to the Enemies of the Cardinal of *Richlieu*, to accuse him of little Religion, and small regard to the Quiet of the State :

State: \* They publish'd a number of Latin Libels against him, to defame him throughout all *Europe*; the Parliament of *Paris* condemn'd some of them; and the Cardinal wanted not those who wrote in his behalf; but the best answer which could be given, had been to discover the true Intentions of the Cardinal, such as were taken notice of before, pag. 265. But this was not then done, because it was not the intent to let the *Hugonots* know they were cheared; Time sufficiently shewed it: And after the Year 1628. there was no Person who accused this Prelate of being favourable to the Hereticks. These Libels came from People who had no less Vanity and Ambition than he; and who would not have spoken ill of him, but because they envied his Post, but knew nothing of the Affairs of State. The small Capacity of those who have oftentimes undertook to defame him, compared with his Management, had so advantageous Effects for him, that he never appear'd a Person of more Ability, than when they undertook to censure his Government.

To pass on presently to other things, which happen'd about the commencement of the Year 1626. The Mar-schal de *Bassompierre*, after he had disposed the Spirits of the *Swissers* to agree to what he had demanded \*, rendred himself at the Diet of *Soleurre*, where he exhorted the Cantons all to unite themselves to labour for the restitution of the *Valteline* to the *Grisons* their Allies, and promised them all sort of assistance to effectuate that resolution. He added, That if they judg'd it would not be restored so soon as his most Christian Majesty desired, it was their Prudence to provide for its Preservation; and that he offer'd, in the King's Name, to conform himself to what they should judge to the purpose, and to maintain it, either with such Expences as were necessary, or such a Party as they should think fit. The same Day the Cantons having framed the Conclusion of their Diet, they declared, That it was just that the *Valteline*, and the Counties of *Chiavenna* and *Bormio*, should be restored to the *Grisons* their ancient Possessors, on which they join'd in Opinion with the Sentiments of the King of *France*, represented to them by his Ambassadour. The Nuncio *Scappi* oppos'd this Reso-

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\* See the Title in the Sequel of the Rebellion of *France*, p. 497. and the following; and in *Ambury's* Life of the Cardinal, Book II. ch. 7.

\* Jan. 12.

1626. Resolution as much as he could ; but as it was clearly known, that he only sought for the Pope's or the *Spaniards* advantage, and not that of the *Swisse* Allies, it was easie for the Mareschal to refute what he said. The *Swissers*, although but little exercised in political Matters, found very well that the latter had reason, and gave him \*, at the determination of their Diet, a Writing, which imported, That the Cantons had formerly approv'd of the Treaty of *Madrid*, and could now find nothing more to the purpose, than to persist in the same Resolution, viz. That the *Valteline*, *Chiavenne*, and *Bormio*, ought to be restored to the Three Leagues of the *Grisons*, conformable to that Treaty, without changing any thing, and with the Conditions therein contain'd, to re-establish the exercise of both Religions. As for other things, which the Mareschal had proposed, the Deputies answer'd, That they would report them to their Superiours. Thus the Mareschal having successfully acquitted himself of his Commission, returned to *Paris*.

At the beginning of the Year, the Pope declared the Cardinal *Francis Barberin* Legate into *Spain*, altho' there was no appearance that he would have any better success with the *Spaniards*, than he had with the *French*. The Cardinal receiv'd the Cross the 27th. of *January*, in a Consistory expressly for that end. A little while after, there was a Promotion made of Twelve Cardinals, amongst whom were *Marquemont* Archbishop of *Lyons*, and *Spada* Nuncio in *France*, of whom I have often spoken. To give the greater Authority to the Legation, the Pope dispatched order to several Persons to levy Troops, to the end, as was said, to send them into the Forts of the *Valteline*, which should be restored to him. These Troops soon after advanced towards the Frontiers of the Ecclesiastical State, to traverse the *Milanese*, and enter into the Forts which the *Spaniards* yet held ; and after they had taken them into their hands, to demand those which the *French* had taken : That if the *French* refused to surrender the Forts which they had, these Troops, as the Pope said, were to endeavour to recover them ; not to break with *France*, but only to aid those of the *Valteline* to shake off the *Grisons* Yolk :  
As

As the King's Ministers had said the Year before, That he had not a design to attack the Pope's Troops, but only to aid the *Grisons*. After they had retaken these Forts, the Pope pretended he would keep them in Deposit, in which time they might agree between themselves. Others believed, that the Pope having promised the *Spaniards* to regain the Forts, he would only appear willing to keep his Word, without going further; and the Pontiff himself declared this afterwards to the Count *de Bethunes*.

They were presently surprized in *France* at this Resolution of the Pope; and when they had understood from the Nuncio's mouth, that the Cardinal *Barberin* was gone for *Spain*, they fear'd there was some secret Treaty between the Pope and that Crown. But the Nuncio having declared, not only that the Pope would do nothing but for the Publick Good, but also that he should not be angry if the Two Crowns could agree between themselves, without his intermeddling; it was believed necessary to conclude with the *Spaniards*; for *du Fargis* had begun to treat secretly with the Count *d'Olivarez*. To oblige the *Spaniards* to render themselves to Conditions so advantageous to *France*, they had then made the Peace with the *Hugonots*, but with design to re-attack *Rochelle*, as soon as the Treaty with *Spain* was concluded.

In the interim, to prevent their surprize, they sent Forces and Money to the Marquis *de Cauvres*, with Orders to make new Levies among the *Grisons*, and amongst the *Swissers*, and to stand upon his guard. The Pope's Troops, composed of Six thousand Foot, and Five hundred Horse, advanced but slowly, because the *Spaniards*, who were to furnish them with Victuals and Ammunition, did not perform with necessary diligence. In the interim, the Pope received the news that the Treaty between the Crowns was concluded, by the Count *d'Olivarez*, and the Marquis *du Fargis*, which rid him of a great trouble, and caused him to demonstrate a great deal of Joy.

The French Ambassador at *Madrid*, after he had endeavour'd to discover the Disposition of the Count *d'Olivarez*, without attending new Orders, sign'd a Treaty on



1626. on the 16th. of *January* before he communicated it to the Court, and after sent it to *France*. They had writ to him some Weeks before, to treat with much precaution, and not at all to engage himself rashly: But he was advanced already so far in the Negotiation when he receiv'd those Orders, that he conceiv'd he could not go back. Otherwise having many times observ'd, that the two principal Articles which *France* endeavour'd to gain, were to preserve the Sovereignty of the *Grisons*, and to make the *Spaniards* desist from the Passage of the *Valteline*, he seem'd to have answer'd his Instructions, in obtaining these two things.

But they were strangely surpriz'd in *France*, or at least feign'd so to be, when they saw a Treaty so important, as that was, sign'd, said they, without Order, and without their previous sight. The first thing they spoke of was, to repeal the Duke of *Fargu*, and to declare the Treaty void. They remain'd some days in this Resolution, and all the Ministers highly blam'd so precipitate a Management. But they said afterwards, That they fear'd, that if they wholly disapprov'd of this Treaty, it would rather be attributed to the Levity of the Court, than to the Incapacity of *du Fargu*, because this was not the first time that they had retracted what the Ministers had done. Furthermore, they perceiv'd by the Discourse of the Marquis *de Mirabel*, that the *Spaniards* regarded not this Treaty, as, so well concluded, that nothing might be changed; which made the King resolve to send a Courier to *du Fargu*, to reproach his Rashness, and to let him know that he ought to repair his Fault, by correcting the Treaty which he had made in such haste. They sent him at the same time the manner after which they extended the Articles, should be changed, and order to put a great value on this Variation, as being a most sensible Mark of the Christian King's Inclination to Peace. They added, that if the Count-Duke would subscribe the Articles, as they had corrected them, he should sign them also; and that at the same time he should give notice thereof to the foreign Ministers who were at the Court of *Spain*, by telling them, That without Commission, and on his proper hazarded, he had signed a Treaty which he thought advantageous, because the *Spaniards* therein renoun-

renounced their Claim to the passage of the *Valteline*, and restor'd the Sovereignty of that Country to the *Grisons*: That if the Duke refused to make any change in the Treaty, he should take leave immediately, and come to give an account of his Conduct: But if the *Spanish* Minister would change any thing, he should send those Alterations to the Court, without showing them to those of the foreign Princes.

The Count *du Fargis* having received these Orders, took Horse to repair to the Court of *Spain*, which was then gone to the Kingdom of *Aragon*, and which he found at *Barcelona*. He spoke so strenuously to the King and the Council of *Spain*, that they comported with suffering what was altered in the Treaty; but he would not accept of all those which they propos'd, they should agree to more than by precedent the Treaty. In the interim, *du Fargis* believing he had repair'd his Fault, omitted not to sign it, because the Count would not give him time to write into *France*. This being done, he gave notice to the Ministers, who were with the King of *Spain's* Train: \* But he agreed with the Count *de Olivarez*, that the Treaty should be dated *March 16. 1626.* as made at *Monzon*, though it was done at *Barcelona*; because they were unwilling that the Legate, who was before come to that City, should concern himself in it, because of the Delays that would have caus'd; which occasion'd their telling him, as hath been said, that the Treaty was concluded before his arrival.

\* *Siri Mem.*  
Rex. T. 6. p.  
112.

The principal Articles of this Treaty were reduced to these:

I. 'That the Affairs of the *Grisons*, and of the *Valteline* should be remitted into the same Estate in which they were, in 1617. By which means, the Sovereignty was conserv'd to the *Grisons*, and the absolute disposition of the Passageto *France*, in whose power it then was.

II. 'That there should for ever, in the *Valteline*, no other but the Catholick Religion be exercis'd in the *Valteline*.

III. 'That the Inhabitants of this Country might chuse their Governours and their Magistrates all Catholics, either *Grisons*, or of the *Valteline*.

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IV. ' That this Election should be confirm'd by the *Grisons*, without power to reject it.

V. ' That all the Forts of the *Valtelline* should be put into the hands of the Pope, to be immediately raised.

VI. ' That the Two Kings should endeavour to pacifie their Confederates; and that they should give them no Succours, neither openly, nor in secret, to continue the War, after they shall have tried in vain all possible ways to make them agree.

The Cardinal *Richlieu* communicated the Substance of this Treaty, before it had been corrected, to the Prince of *Piedmont*, who was come to Court to make Complaints against the Constable and his Son-in-Law; and as that Prince saw that there was no particular care taken of the Interests of his House, he was extremely enraged at this Treaty; and the Ministers of *France*, as to comfort him, exceedingly complain'd of *du Fargis*; but they added, That the King, that he might not pass for a Prince of little Credit, had been oblig'd to ratifie what he had signed, because it would never be believ'd to have been done without order. *Contarini*, the *Venetian* Ambassadour, complain'd no less of this Treaty, in which he pretended the Republick ought to have had a part; and he was the more angry, because being \* advertis'd that *France* treated with *Spain*, and having said that they laugh'd at him as a Coxcomb, because the Cardinal *Richlieu* had assured the *Marschal de Bassompierre*, that there was no such thing.

\* *Siri Mem.*  
*Rec. T. 5. p.*  
962.

The Treaty of *Monzon* being corrected, as I have said, and ratified by the King, after the Courier which carried the ratification into *Spain* was return'd, it was communicated to the Ambassadors of *Venice* and *Savoy*; for the Prince of *Piedmont* was already departed, ill satisfied with the Court, where he had not been receiv'd with the former Honours, though they gave him no Reason for it. When *Charles Emanuel* was advertis'd by his Ambassador of what had pass'd, he spoke of the Ministers in most opprobrious Terms, and particularly design'd the Cardinal, whom he

he treated as if guilty of a most prodigious Treachery. 1626.  
 The Ambassador *Contarini* would also withdraw, and spoke extreamly ill of all the Ministers, but especially of that same Cardinal, whom he call'd Dissembler and Chear. In effect, it was visible they were all chous'd by him, by his denying that the King treated with *Spain*, and with feeding them with hopes for the next Campaign, whilst at the same time the Treaty was concluding. It was believ'd, that though the Court grumbled at *Du Fargu*, he had done nothing without the Cardinal's Participation, without which he never durst have signed two Treaties without order. It is a Fault too gross, and where all that Minister can hold most dear is too visibly concern'd, to fall into once, far from being guilty of committing the same fault twice one after another.

The Cardinal at this time \* affected to say, That he would beg the King's favour to discharge him of the care of his Affairs, because his Health would not permit him to proceed as he had begun. But his management during the two Years of his Ministry which were elaps'd, and the designs which he had propos'd demonstrated the contrary. He gave, besides, many other Reasons, which could perswade no body, as when he assur'd Cardinal *Spada*, that he desir'd to make a Journey to *Rome*, and stay there three Months, at a time when his presence was most necessary at Court, to support himself against those who envied him for the great Authority he had acquir'd. But his other Discourses would not let him be believ'd when he spoke seriously, although the Lye was so mix'd with the Truth, that it was hard to discern it. He \* said one day to the same *Spada*, That in the space of eighteen Months, he hop'd so to alter the face of Affairs in *France*, that it should be hard to know it. He added, That they should see the *Hugonots* extirpated, the Tallies taken away, and the Parliaments become more illustrious. He brought the first thing to pass, at least in respect of *Rebelle*; but as for the others, the good Prelate never thought of them.

There were some \* Years since the Protestant Princes of *Germany* had made a League to oppose themselves to the

\* *Siri Mem.*  
*Rec. T. 5. p.*  
 121.

\* *Siri Mem.*  
*Rec. T. 5. p.*  
 127.  
 1217.

\* *See Puse-*  
*des. Rev. Sur-*  
*ic. Lib. 1.*



1626. the Enterprizes of the House of *Austria*, and the King of *Denmark* was the chief of it. As he was no ways in condition to resist him with the Forces of the Confederates and his own, he endeavour'd to induce *France* to break with *Spain*, to hinder it from assisting the Emperour. The Cardinal gave him some hopes as to divers other Princes, that the Crowns would suddenly fall to an open War; and the Affairs of *Piedmont* and the *Valteline* seem'd to be Preludes. The Interest of the *Grisons*, which the King said publicly he would maintain as his own, seem'd incompatible with the Pretensions of *Spain*, which there was no appearance they would recede from.

But the King, after he had spoke so highly of the care he would take of his Allies, almost wholly deserted them, since he permitted the *Grisons* to be stripp'd of their Civil Government, as well as the liberty of the exercise of their Religion in the *Valteline*, without any appearances of right to give away that which belong'd not to him, as the *Spaniards* had no more any reason to require it. But the Interest of the *Grisons* was that which was least thought of, though the thing most talk'd of; and by misfortune they were too weak to resent it, and the *Swissers* too good people to take their part with that heat which the Cause requir'd. The Cardinal even thought not of the King's Honour, on which he had in appearance so strongly insisted, but only as it promoted his particular Interests. It was this was the cause of the conclusion of the Treaty of *Monzon*, it not being advantageous to the Cardinal, that the State, in the beginning of his favour, should be embarrass'd in a Foreign War, whilst they labour'd at home to take from him that Supream Authority, which he began to usurp over the other Ministers.

It was hereupon said, That the Marechal de *Roque-laure* being dead, the Duke of *Anjou*, who was after call'd the Duke of *Orleans* had demanded the Battoon for the Colonel *D'Ornano*, his Governour, but could not obtain it. A little after, an Army was prepar'd to go against *Rochelelle*. Monsieur desir'd the command of it; but as it was known that he was push'd on by the Colonel, who would command it in his Name, the King let him know, that his Request should be granted if he would dismiss

*D'Ornano*.

*D'Ornano.* This unexpected Answer extraordinarily fretted him; and he chose rather to forego what he had desir'd, than to deprive himself of a Man in whom he had plac'd his greatest confidence. Nevertheless he press'd the King so hard to grant him the Marechals Staff, that it was deliberated in the Council, whether it was better to gratifie Monsieur, or rid themselves of the Colonel, by making him away. In fine, the King concluded rather to give his Brother the pleasure to see his Governour a Marechal, than cause him to be kill'd.

The Cardinal *de Richlieu* \* being mounted to a degree of Favour, whereby he might obtain any thing, more Court was made to him than to the King or the Princes of the Blood: He now look'd upon them who would not depend upon him, as obstacles to his Designs. So that after he had endeavour'd to gain *Ornano*, were it for his personal Qualities, or because he was Governour to the only Brother of the King, whose Health was little firm, and had no Children; when he perceiv'd he could not compass his end, he begun to look upon the Marechal as a Man whom he ought to distrust. There needed no more to work his destruction; and the Cardinal took measures to render him culpable. In this Affair he made use of good Father *Joseph*, the principal Instrument in his most important and secret Designs. The Capuchin feign'd to have a most particular Esteem and Friendship for the Marechal, and made him know as his Friend, That it was time that he should think of ordering Matters, so as Monsieur might be admitted into the Council, to acquire some knowledge of the Affairs of State. He said moreover, that That Prince need not fear a Refusal, not only in regard to his Birth, but also to his Merit. Nothing could be said which more agreeably flatter'd the Ambition of the Marechal, who look'd upon the advancement of his Master as his own. We easily believe what we fancy, and find a thousand Reasons to support it. The Marechal judg'd in effect, that the Weal-publick requir'd that the Duke of *Anjou* should learn the Art of reigning, since the King being Childless, the Crown would one day fall on his Head. And it is certain, that if Monsieur were one of the

\* *Siri Mem.*  
Rec. T. 6. p.  
121. and the  
following.

1626. Council, he would be sure to get the Mareſchal admitted. This laſt, ſwell'd with theſe Thoughts, open'd himſelf thereupon to the King, and told him, It would do well if his Brother got ſome Cognizance of the Affairs of a Crown, for whoſe Preſervation he was ſo deeply concern'd ; but if he were not admitted into the Council, the Command of the Armies was at leaſt to be granted to him.

The King told the Proposition to the Cardinal, which the Mareſchal *d'Ornano* had made. It was no hard thing to the Cardinal to term this Requeſt after a moſt odious manner, and to perſwade the King to deny him all. The King, fearful and jealous, eaſily believ'd as the Cardinal ſaid, That the Mareſchal inſpir'd too ambitious Thoughts into a Prince who was immediately to ſucceed his Maſteſty in caſe he had no Children ; and that he demanded the Command of an Army, only to make uſe of it againſt him that gave it ; or at leaſt to ſhare the Crown with him. The Cardinal eaſily foreſaw, that Monſieur's being refus'd what he ſought for, would cauſe him to withdraw from Court ; or if he remain'd there, he would not fail to ſhew his diſguſt in ſuch Words as would eaſily augment the King's Jealouſie. In the Interim, this Prelate always entertain'd the Mareſchal with an outward Friendſhip, which he had ſhewn towards him for a long time, and in publick praiſ'd him, whiſt in private he ruin'd him in the King's Thoughts, by making him ſenſible, that he might one day draw Monſieur into ſome deſign diſtructive to the State. He had wonderful ſucceſs in theſe ſorts of Accuſations, becauſe he ſeem'd to have no other concern but the King's Intereſt, upon which all his Fortune and Authority depended ; whiſt his Enviars ſeem'd to have other Maſters on whom their Preferment more relied than on the King.

\* *Mem de  
B. Comp. T. 2.  
P. 317.*

\* *Siri Mem.  
Rec. T. 6.  
P. 132.*

Monſieur in the Year 1625, \* had began to court *Madamoſelle de Montpenſier*, only Daughter of *Henry de Bourbon*, Duke of *Montpenſier* ; but the Court being againſt that Courtſhip, had order'd *Ornano* to divert the Duke of *Anjou* from it ; which he had done. It was ſaid, \* that he made uſe of Motives which might ſome-time or other cauſe diſturbances ; which were, that he told

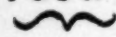
told Monsieur, That if he espous'd one of the King's Subjects, he would himself become more a Subject than before, and their Fortune would be absolutely in the Hands of the King and the Minister; That if at that time he could make a Foreign Alliance, he might one day have need of it, if the King gave himself over to the haughty and violent Spirit of the Cardinal; That in such a Conjunction he would not find any Succour either within the Kingdom or without, unless he were strictly allied to some Sovereign House capable to assist him.

The King having notice of these Advices given to his Brother by the Marechal, his Majesty, to draw the Monsieur out of these Intrigues, admitted Monsieur \* into the Cabinet-Council, as of his own Motion, after he had refus'd it to *Ornano*: This last presently complain'd, that they had put Monsieur into the Council, without the least Word of it to one of his most faithful Servants, and who had endeavour'd to procure his entrance. He after requested his own admission, pretending it was promis'd him in the time of the Duke de *Luines*. The King refus'd to grant it him, and he pray'd, that at least he might be permitted to accompany Monsieur, and stand by him as one of the Secretaries of State. But the more urgent he was, the farther he found the King from granting his Desires; which made him shew his discontent in Terms very displeasing to his Majesty. Two Days after, the King being at *Fontainebleau*, caus'd him to be arrested, with *Masgnes*, his Brother, *Chandebon* Groom of the Chambers, and many others suspected by the Minister, who were sent to the *Bastille*, from whence the next day they carried the Marechal to the *Bois de Vincennes*; they were presently accus'd in general of having conspir'd against the King, and the first Minister, to render themselves Master of the Government: And they moreover said afterwards, that they had a design upon the King's Life.

Monsieur receiving this News, run to complain to the King; and as he entred his Apartment he was surpriz'd that admission was refus'd to his Train, which more augmented his Sorrow. The first of the Council which he met with was the Chancellor d' *Aligre*, whom he ask-



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ed, If it was by his Advice that they had put the Mareſchal *d'Ornano* into Priſon? *D'Aligre* fearing the anger of the Duke, replied, That he was ſurpriz'd at it himſelf, and knew not the Reaſon, not having been at the Council when that Reſolution was taken; which was falſe. This weak Answer for a Chancellor of *France*, who ought, as Head of the Council, to have answer'd, That the King without doubt had very good Reaſons, offended the King, or rather the Cardinal, who would not allow that people ſhould faintly manage his Deſigns: And but a little after \* the Seals were taken away from *d'Aligre* to be given to *Marillac*, Superintendent of the Finances, and entirely depending on the Cardinal. *Monſieur* afterwards ask'd the Cardinal the ſame Queſtion, who answer'd him fiercely, That for him he would not ſpeak to him as the Chancellor had done; and that both of them had counſelled the King to put the Mareſchal in Priſon, for what the King himſelf had related to them. He ſhould have ſaid upon the Advice he himſelf had given the King, who now ſaw nothing but by his Eyes. This occaſion'd a Libel at that time to be publiſh'd againſt him, intituled, \* *The King of the King*; in which they ſhew'd, that the Cardinal took as much Authority over the Will of the King, as the King did upon that of his other Subjects.

But to return to *Monſieur*; he complain'd highly to the King of the Imprisonment of the Mareſchal; he told him, That they ought alſo to put him and *Gaſton* in Priſon, becauſe he was as guilty as *Ornano*; that they might lawfully accuſe both the one and the other of having too much Affection for his Maſteſty, and the good of the State; That as for him, if they put the Mareſchal to death, notwithstanding his Innocency, he would die with him; That he ſaw he was fallen into the Snare which his Enemies had laid long ſince; but he hop'd that the Juſtice of his Maſteſty would not abandon his Brother and an Officer of the Crown, to the Fury of their Enemies; That if he ever diſcover'd the Author of the Mareſchals Imprisonment, there was nothing but the Arms of the King ſhould ſave him from lawful Revenge.

The

\* About the  
end of June.

\* *Anbery's*  
Life of the  
Cardinal. 2.  
c. 8.

The more *Gaston* was transported in favour of the *Mareschal*, the more it perswaded the King, that *Ornano* was absolutely Master of his Brother's Spirit, and that he abus'd his Power over him. These very Transports produc'd yet two effects which the Cardinal desir'd, which was, that they augmented the distrust which the Cardinal endeavour'd to raise in the King's Mind against Monsieur; and that the ill Humour which the King shew'd to his Brother, kept that Prince in fear, and hindred him from undertaking any thing.

The King answer'd him, That if the *Mareschal* should be found culpable, he believ'd Monsieur too good a Brother to enter into the design of making disturbances; That they made use of his Name, but he would always distinguish the Interests of his Brother from those of *Ornano*. *Gaston* replied, That he would die sooner than desert a Man no way guilty, but for being his Servant; but yet he could not hinder his being carried to the *Bois de Vincennes*, as I have already said. In the mean time that Prince sent *Capestan*, Lieutenant of a Company of *Corse*, to carry a Letter to the *Mareschal d'Ornano's* Lady; by which he declar'd to her the good Offices which he endeavour'd to render to her Spouse, and the part he took in her Grief. The Cardinal, advertis'd by his Spies, that Monsieur wrote to the *Mareschal's* Lady, caus'd Guards to be presently set to all the Avenues of the Forest of *Fontainebleau*, to stop Monsieur's Courier. But *Capestan*, who had been Page to the *Mareschal d'Ornano*, made his Passage through the Guards; of which he wounded some. The *Mareschal's* Lady instantly return'd Answer, to thank the Duke of *Anjou*, and gave the Letter to one of her People, disguis'd as a Lacquey, to give it to *Puylaurens*, or to *Goulas*, Domesticks to Monsieur, who were to put it into his Hands. This last receiv'd it, and as he was the Cardinal's Pensioner, he deliver'd it to him: After which, he told Monsieur, seeming to be in a Passion, that he had receiv'd a Letter from the *Mareschal's* Lady, but that he had lost it. This poor Prince saw suddenly afterwards who had found it, when the Cardinal caus'd it to be read in his Presence in open Council. He never knew

1626. how to secure himself against the Infidelity of his Domesticks, nor to punish those who had betray'd him ; and it was said of the Abbot *de la Riviere*, *That he might very well know what his Master weigh'd, since he had sold him several times.* Thus then, when that Prince went to speak to the King in behalf of the Marechal, he found the King ready to answer him, knowing what he was about to say ; because *Giston* put confidence in his people, who told all to the Cardinal. In fine, to be rid of his Importunities, the King told him, That if he persisted to speak to him, the Marechal should fare never the better : \* And Monsieur had the meannells to sign on *Whitsunday*, an Act, which the King and Queen-Mother signed also ; by which he promis'd all Honour, Respect, and Service to the King, and submitted it to his Royal Bounty, to deal favourably with the Marechal *d'Ornano*, upon the humble Prayer which he had made to him. He also gave a visit to the Cardinal in the House of *Limours*, whither the Cardinal, pretending indisposition, was retir'd at the end of the Month of *May*.

\* *May 31.*  
See *Aubery's*  
Life of the  
Card. Lib. 2.  
c. 8.

\* *Aubery's*  
Life of the  
Card. Lib. 2.  
c. 8.

From thence he writ to the King, \* to beseech his Permission to withdraw from the Court, and represented to him, That having even hitherto no other Passion in serving him, but the Glory of his Majesty, and the good of his State, he was extreemly troubled to see the Court divided, and all *France* threatned with confusion on his account ; That his Life should be of little value to him when occasion should be, to employ it for the good of his Crown ; but it vex'd him to see himself in perpetual danger to be assassinated at Court, as it was almost inevitable, being every day encompass'd with unknown Persons ; That nevertheless, if his Majesty would have it so, he would continue his Service with the same danger, and blindly resolve it, since he profess'd to have no Interest but the States, nor no Will but the King's. But the Opinion which he had, that the King desir'd not he should end his Life by a Death so little Honourable, to which he could not be expos'd without the wounding of the Royal Authority, gave him the boldness to supplicate his Majesty to think fit that he might withdraw himself from Court ; and that by his  
Retreat

Retreat he should ruin the Designs of the Male-contents, by taking from them the pretext they had made use of for the abating his too great Favour. 1626.

The Cardinal wrote the same thing to the Queen-Mother, and entreated her to obtain for him this Favour of the King; which, as he said, ought to be the less denied him, because he fear'd, that managing his Health no better than he had hitherto done, he should not be long able to administer Affairs. But this demand which he made, after it had given the King an Alarm, and made him believe that the Cardinal was the Man of the Kingdom the most exempt from Ambition, though his Enemies accus'd him of the contrary: The King, who dreaded to fall into the Hands of his Brother, whom he had often us'd but ill, had no mind to forego the Cardinal in this Conjunction: He therefore wrote him a Letter with his own Hand\*, comforted with the Queen-Mother's, who wanted the Cardinal more than the King; by which his Majesty entreated this Prelate not to think of a Retreat. The King said to him, That his Service had been always infinitely advantageous to him, but it was at present necessary to the State, and that without the support of his Ministry, all the Interests of the Crown would run to final destruction; That he promis'd him his protection against the Duke of *Anjou*, and against all the Princes and all the Lords; That as he had discover'd to him by what had pass'd, the Evil which was spoken of him, thenceforward he would tell him all the Calumnies which he should hear spoken, and the Names of the Calumniators, without requiring any justification from him, being too much convinc'd of his Fidelity by his Services.

At the same time, the Designs of the Malecontents begun to be more plainly discover'd, by the means of *Henry de Tollerand*, Marquis de *Chalais*, Master of the Wardrobe. \* It was said, That between nine Persons, Friends to the Duke of *Orleans* and the Marechal d'*Ornano*, there had been a Council held, in which it was resolv'd to assassinate the Cardinal at *Fleury*, where he then was. The Marquis de *Chalais*, who was one of the

\* Dated at  
Blois, June 9.  
\* *Sire's Mem.*  
Rec. T. 6. p.  
151.

\* *B. Short*  
*Mem.* T. 2.  
p. 362.



1626. the nine, discover'd this Design to the Commander of *Valençay*, but could not gain him. On the contrary, the Commander censur'd him openly, that he being a Domestick of the King's, durst engage in such an Enterprize against the first Minister. He added, That he ought to give him notice of it; and if he did not, he would himself go and discover. He, frightned by the Threats of *Valençay*, consented to it, they both parted to go to *Fleury*; and *Chalais* declar'd to the Cardinal one part of what he knew; That Monsieur was to feign that he would come and dine at *Fleury*, and that he should in the Morning send his Officers, in appearance, to prepare his Dinner, but in the bottom to encrease his Force. The Cardinal thanked the Marquis and the Commander, and prayed them to go and tell the King the same at *Fontainebleau*: They were there in an instant; and at eleven a Clock at Night, the King order'd thirty of his *Gens d'Arms*, and as many Light Horse, to march instantly to *Fleury*, and to do what the Cardinal should appoint them. The Queen-Mother also sent all her Officers to assist on this occasion.

It fell out just as *Chalais* had said, about three of the Clock in the Morning, Monsieur's Officers came to *Fleury*, as if they were to make a Dinner ready for him. Then the Cardinal left them his Lodging, and went, well accompanied, to *Fontainebleau*, and directly to Monsieur's Chamber, who was rising, and was extreemly surprized to see him. He expostulated with the Duke of *Anjou*, That he had not done him the Honour to command him to get a Dinner for him, and said, he would not have got the worst; but he had left his House to his People as soon as they appeared. The Cardinal's Enemies could not apprehend how he had discover'd this Design against him, because they believ'd that they had trusted it with persons only of whom they were assur'd. The Cardinal said he had the first Intelligence from Foreign Countries, but apparently to hide him who had discover'd the others. \* He order'd him himself, and got the King to command him, to dissemble himself of the same disposition as before, the better to discover the Designs

\* *Memo. de  
Ambery, T. 1.  
p. 284. in the  
Process of  
Criminal.*

Designs of this Minister's Enemies. \* But *Chalais* cheated them a second time; he confess'd to those who had formed the Design against the Cardinal, that it was he who had discover'd it, for fear that *Valençay* should prevent him, and promised them to be more faithful for the future, giving them this notice of his Fault for a token of his Sincerity.

1626.

Mém. de  
Bossomp. T. 2.  
p. 364.

Thus the Party broke not off for this; and there were accused besides the Duke of *Anjou*, divers Persons of the First Rank, as the Count of *Soissons*, the Duke of *Longueville*, the Duke of *Vendôme*, the Grand Prior of *France*, the Duke of *Chevreuse*, the Duke of *Espernon*, the Marquis de *la Valette*, and many Persons of lesser Quality.

Not long after the Court being gone to *Blois*, *Chalais*, whose Chamber was contiguous to *Gaston's* Apartment, had divers Conferences with him in that Prince's Cabinet in the night, of which the Cardinal wanted not advertisement. The Grand Prior, who was of the Party, seeing by that first Imprudence of *Chalais* the Affair was discover'd, affected to make great Complements to the Cardinal, incomparably more fine than his. That Prelate receiving him always perfectly well, and feigning to be entirely for his Interests, the Grand Prior believ'd him so much his Friend, that he pray'd him one day to obtain for him the Charge of Admiral of *France*, which was then the Duke of *Montmorency's*. The Cardinal feign'd, that he had thoughts of it himself; and said, that he would cause the Duke of *Montmorency* to be spoke to about it, or so order things that the King should suppress it, and give the exercise of it by Commission to the Grand Prior. He added, that it would be necessary for the Duke his Brother, who was in his Government of *Britaigne*, to come to the Court with him, to give the King Thanks. The Duke of *Vendôme*, who loved not the Cardinal, and who knew his revengeful Spirit, would not have come to Court, for fear of being play'd some trick; and the Cardinal, resolved to take his Government from him, sought all ways to get him out by force or by cunning, as opportunity should present. The Grand Prior nevertheless, fearful of his Brother's Person, and not able to make him resolve to come to Court with-

1626. without some assurance, demanded of the King, if he might come thither without danger, because of the Reports which run, that there was a Conspiracy of *d'Ornano*; and the King answer'd him in an equivocal manner, That no more harm should be done to his Brother than to him. This Prince, who suffer'd himself to be cheated by his Ministers, was nevertheless a sufficient Dissembler, when those who possess'd his Spirit told him he was to be so.

The Grand Prior, deceiv'd by this equivocal Answer, dictated perhaps by the Cardinal, who was a great Master of such things, went to the Duke his Brother into *Bretaigne*; and they came Post to the Court, which was then at *Blois*\*, in the beginning of *June*. The Duke found the King, who was walking in the Garden, and said, coming up towards him, That at the first signal of his Majesty, he was come to cast himself at his feet, to assure him of his Obedience, and to tell him, that he would never have other Designs, nor other Inclinations, but what should be to render him most humble Services. The King laying his hand on his Shoulder, told him, that he had impatiently long'd to see him, and invited him to hunt on the morrow. But the Duke excused himself, being wearied with coming Post from *Bretaigne*. The two Brothers were lodg'd in two Chambers of the Castle, and in the morning they receiv'd and paid Visits, without dreaming of the turn which was to be play'd them. They were both arrested the day following; at two hours after midnight they were awaken'd, to be carried to the Castle of *Amboise*, under a sure Guard. But when the Court return'd to *Paris*, they were brought from thence to the *Bois de Vincennes*.

Whilst they were ordering this Affair, the Duke of *Anjou* did all he could to obtain the liberty of the *Maréchal d'Ornano* from the Cardinal; and seeing all his Instances were in vain with this implacable Minister, he consulted about withdrawing from Court. But those in whom he confided having diverted him from it, he sent the President *le Coigneux*, who had succeeded the *Maréchal* in Monsieur's Government, but who then depended much more on the Cardinal than on him, to that

Pre-

† *June 2.*  
*Basson. Mem.*  
*T. 2. p. 365.*  
*& Siri. Mem.*  
*Rec. T. 6.*  
*p. 139.*

Prelate, to demand four things on his behalf : The first was, That the Proceedings against the Mareschal d'*Ornano* might be stopp'd. The second, That the King would encrease, by an hundred thousand Franks, the Expences of Monsieur's House. The third, That this Prince might marry to whom and when he pleas'd. The fourth, That they would give him security in a Month's time to settle his Portion. The Cardinal, after he had suffer'd them to press hard upon him, agreed to these four Demands, although he said they were exorbitant ; but with a design to keep none but what he found to his purpose. He added, That he would serve Monsieur always, as much as possible he could ; and would make him clearly to see, that he had done nothing but what was for his Service. The Duke of *Anjou* caused Thanks to be return'd to the Cardinal, and seem'd to be comforted for all the Mischiefs they had done him, until the King sent him word of the Imprisonment of the Brothers of *Vendôme*, and to tell him, that things had not been brought to that extremity, but for very forcible Reasons. Monsieur, as well as the Count of *Soissons*, liv'd with themselves in a very great Intelligence, and deliberated a second time to withdraw from Court ; but having no sure Refuge, it was necessary they should expect, whether the Marquis de *la Valette* would receive them into *Metz* ; and the Marquis having refus'd it, because the Duke of *Espernon* his Father did not think it fit, Monsieur remain'd at Court.

The Court being come to *Nantes*, the King establish'd a Chamber of Justice, which made out *Chalais's* Process, and \* condemn'd him to lose his Head. There was great murmuring in *France*, at the erecting of an extraordinary Tribunal, to judge one Man, who being Criminal, might have been condemn'd in any Parliament the King should have named, and ought not to have been Tried by Judges who were the Cardinal's Dependents, who was secretly his Prosecutor. But the Prelate by establishing a new Method of Justice, would strike an Awe into them who durst attack his Favour, that all might imagine there was no way to avoid his Revenge, by the way of Formalities, establish'd by the Laws in favour of Innocents. After this time, the Ministers have  
many

\* Aug. 19.  
See Aubery's  
Mem. T. I.  
p. 283.



1626 many times made use of this way, to destroy those they did not love; and the Kings, under pretext of enhancing their Authority, have sacrificed the Laws of their Kingdoms to the Passions of their Favourites.

One of the Friends of *Chalais* putting confidence in the Count *de Lovigny*, had told him Monsieur's Design to leave the Court, and to diminish the too great Authority of the First Minister. \* *Lovigny*, enraged against *Chalais*, who had forsaken him in a Quarrel which he had, went to discover all to the King, and perhaps told him more than was truth. It was said, that he affirmed, That *Chalais*, who was Master of the King's Wardrobe, was, by Monsieur's order, to poison one of his Majesty's Shirts. There was no appearance of the truth of this, the Duke of *Anjou* being naturally of a sweet and fearful Temper; but they were willing to fright the King, to exasperate him the more easily against all those who were not inclin'd to crouch to the Authority of the Minister. It is true, that the Duke, fearful and mutable, made a Declaration at *Nants*, of the 11th of *August*, wherein he accused *Chalais* to have counselled him to withdraw from the Court, and to have given him ways how to do it; a Baseness which he was more than once in his life guilty of, as you will see in the sequel of this History. He may justly be accused for want of Resolution, and of deserting those who had served him, to extricate himself; but for such heinous Crimes, there was but small appearance he could be guilty. Let it be as it will, *Chalais* (being taken with divers Papers, and sundry Witnesses who deposed against him) maintain'd, that he had never re-entr'd into the Faction which was framed against the Cardinal, but to serve that Prelate, who had order'd him to do it. But as he faithfully serv'd Monsieur's Party, he endeavour'd to cheat the Minister, to draw some Reward from him, whilst he was in a condition to give. *Chalais* would say nothing to the Keeper of the Seals, Head of the Chamber of Justice; but the Cardinal speaking to him, he declar'd all that he knew of the Malecontents. \* It was reported, that this Prelate promised him his Favour and Rewards, if he would discover not only what came to his Knowledge, but if he would also depose some things, which he told him; and

\* *Mém. de  
Bessomp. T. 2.  
p. 367.*

\* See *Siri,  
T. 6. p. 150,  
159. Mém.  
d'Ambery, T.  
I. p. 287.*

and that he was worse than his Word, after he had drawn out of him what he pleased. 1 6 2 6.

Monfieur being reconciled to the Court, his Marriage with Madamoiselle de Montpensier was talk'd of. He had made many Intrigues to put it off, and to induce the King and Queen to hinder this Marriage; but the Queen-Mother and the Cardinal desiring it, it was at last brought to a conclusion. The Queen \* fear'd, that Monfieur coming to have Children, she should be despised; and it is said, that the Mareschal d'Ornano had told her, that if the King died, the Duke of Anjou might very well marry her. They had also talked of declaring the King impotent, and putting him into a Monastery, and giving Gaston to the Queen, without staying for his death. They had \* also made the King understand, by means of Tronfon and Marillac, and of Souverre, and even of Baradas the King's Favourite, but who meddled not with any Affairs of State; that Monfieur being married to a rich Heiress, allied to the House of Guise (for her Mother Catharine Henriette de Joyeuse, had espoused the Duke of Guise in her second Marriage) and having a considerable Portion, his Authority would become so great at the Court, especially if he had Children, that his Favour would be sought for more than his Majesty's, who had no Children, and whose Health was so weak; whereas his Brother was of an excellent Complexion. These Discourses had made such an impression in the King, that Father Suffren, Confessor to the Queen-Mother, going one day to see him in his Cabinet, this Prince, over-whelm'd with Sorrow, cast his Arms about his Neck, and began to tell him, That he saw very well that his Mother could not forget what had pass'd on account of the Mareschal d'Ancre; and that she had more Kindness for Monfieur than for him, because she procur'd more considerable Advantages for him. Father Suffren endeavour'd to disabuse the King, and to make him comprehend that that Marriage was for the good of the State, and for the service of his Majesty. But it was impossible presently to take away all his Suspicions. In this Conjunction, the Queen-Mother fear'd to be once more remov'd from Affairs, and the Cardinal to be sent to Rome; so that they did all they could to know who had

\* Siri, ibid.  
p. 155.

\* Siri, ibid.  
p. 157.

1626. had cast these Mists over the King's Mind ; for the good Prince was almost incapable to find any Thought to fix on. In fine, the Queen-Mother by force of Tears prevail'd with the King to tell those who had thus disturb'd his Spirit : He nam'd them all except *Baradas*, and they were instantly dismiss'd the Court.

\* See the King's Letters, dated at *Nants* in July, in the sequel of the Rebellion of *France* in this Year, p. 467.

The King being pleas'd, Monsieur's Marriage with *Mademoiselle de Montpensier* was concluded the 5th. of *August*, and was soon after consummated. The King \* gave him in consideration of this Marriage, the Dutchies of *Orleans* and of *Chartres*, with the County of *Blois*, which was the cause he was after call'd Duke of *Orleans*. He afterwards join'd to it the Seigniorie of *Montargis*, to hold till it should amount to the summ of One hundred thousand Livres. Monsieur had moreover a Patent of Five hundred and sixty thousand Livres annual Pension ; so that he had more than a Million of Livres Revenue. His Wife brought him the Sovereignty of *Dombes*, and the Dutchies of *Montpensier* and *Chatilleraud*, with many other fair Territories, which came to Three hundred and thirty thousand Livres of Rent. With such considerable Revenues, Monsieur thought of nothing but plunging himself into Pleasures, and seem'd to have forgot all things past.

\* *Siri Mem.*  
Rec. T. 6. p.  
158.

Thus there was none but he, amongst the Cardinal's Enemies, who got out of the Conspiracy without disadvantage. The Dutchess of *Chevreuse*, of whom the Marquis of *Chalais* was amorous, and by whom he was also favour'd, being accused to have persuaded Monsieur against Marriage, and to have advis'd him to leave the Court, was banish'd into *Lorraine*. \* Report was, that the Cardinal also being in love with this Lady, and not enduring to see his Rival more favour'd than himself, had destroy'd the one, and driven the other from Court, more for his Jealousie than the Crimes which were imputed to her.

Before the Court departed from *Nants*, the King caused the Queen to appear in Council ; and having reproach'd her that she thought of a second Husband, made her read the Deposition of *Chalais* ; where it was said, that it had been talk'd of putting the King into a Monastery, and declaring him impotent, and marrying the Duke of  
*Orleans*

*Orleans* with the Queen. Were it that the Friends of *Gaston* had in effect made such Discourses, or that it was a Fiction, it seem'd decent they should have spared that Princess from this Shame, and hinder'd it from coming to the ears of the King. But that was not the Cardinal's Interest, to whose advantage it was that the King should distrust all his nearest Relations, and evil intreat them; because after that, there remain'd none whom he could confide in but this Prelate.

The Count of *Souffons*, who, amongst other things, was accused to have counselled Montieur to retire to *Rochelle*, and to put himself in the head of the *Hugonot* Party, durst stay no longer at *Paris*, where he then was. He went for *Italy*, and at the same time demanded the King's Licence, who had rather have him at a distance from Court, than near the Duke of *Orleans*. It was easie under this Pretext, to keep as far off as he pleased, as had been done a little before by the Prince of *Condé*, who was not yet return'd to the Court, though he had seen the Cardinal at his House of *Limours*.

At the same time, the Death of the Marechal d'*Or-*  
*nano* was publish'd at Court, who deceased at the *Bois*  
*de Vincennes*, after some days sickness in a malignant Fe-  
 ver. The Enemies of the Cardinal, who accused him of  
 scrupling nothing, caused a Report to fly about, that he  
 was poison'd; though the Physicians and Chirurgeons  
 did averr that he died of a Fever, before he had taken  
 the *Viaticum*, and in a state wherein there was no hopes  
 of Recovery. He made a Discourse upon the cause of  
 his Imprisonment; and swore upon the Salvation of his  
 Soul, that the Duke of *Orleans* had never any Thought  
 against the Person of the King, and that any of his  
 Confidants had ever given him such Counsels: That  
 the Duke of *Orleans*, seeing himself entirely excluded  
 the Government, which was pass'd into the hands of the  
 Cardinal, had only sought means to lessen the excessive  
 Authority of this Minister, and to obtain some for him-  
 self: That whatever more was said, was false, or else  
 never came to his knowledge. In the sequel, he receiv'd  
 the Sacrament, and died soon after.

Sep. 4.  
 See Siri Mem.  
 Rec. T. 6. p.  
 159.



1626.

In the mean time, the Depositions of *Chalais* said a great deal more; and the Cardinal publish'd, \* That if the Conspirators had had some Months more, they would have been strong enough to have depriv'd the King of the Crown, as by their Design they had contriv'd. He complaining one day to Cardinal *Spada*, of the trouble which the Ministry gave him, told him, amongst other things, That the Queen-Mother and he ceased not to recommend to the King, with all possible care, to do the Duty of a good Husband, if he would put the Kingdom in repose: That the King did in effect what was possible for him, considering the natural aversion which he had for it, and the disgust given him by the vanity of the Queen, augmented by Persons who were near her: That the Duke of *Anjou*, who was so troublesome to the King, might very well be arrested, and put in Prison; but besides that the Queen-Mother had too much repugnance for that, it was dangerous in such a Kingdom as *France*, and in a time when the King was young and destitute of Children. He also complain'd of the little Generosity of the King, who had scarcely given him any thing, altho' he knew that the Cardinal had not above 50000 Crowns Rent, and yet his Expences were double the sum: But he praised the Munificence of the Queen-Mother, who knowing he was in debts, had paid part of them, without acquainting him with it.

\* *Aubrey's*  
Life of the  
Cardinal, lib. I.  
c. 9.

Before the King left *Bretaigne* to return to *Paris*, he held an Assembly of the States of that Province, the Government whereof he took from the Duke of *Vendôme*, and gave it to the Mareschal de *Themines*: \* One of the Panegyriste of Cardinal *Richlieu* remarks, that it was he who first propos'd the Mareschal to the King, though he had but little reason to love the Name or Family of *Themines*; because the Son of the Mareschal, as I have heard say, had kill'd the Cardinal's eldest Brother some years before. But by the Humour of this Prelate, there is great appearance that some Baseness of the Mareschal's had gain'd his Favour, for the little he was suspected by him; he would not else have treated him better than so many others, whom he had depriv'd of their Employes upon the least suspicion.

The

The Court being upon its return to *Paris*, knew that the King of *Great Britain* had driven away the Queen's *French Domesticks* \*, and was obliged to send the *Mareschal de Bassompierre* to *London*, who in some measure accommodated this Affair. But I will make no demurr on that, but continue to relate what more particularly concerns the Cardinal of *Richlieu*; nevertheless, I will first tell you, that the Constable of *Lesdeguieres* died about the beginning of *November*, at the Age of fourscore years, and left great Riches to the *Mareschal de Crequi* his Son-in-Law; and that about the same time, *Baradas* was disgraced; and that *S. Simon*, who also was a Page to his Majesty, succeed him in Favour, but without any more concern in the Government than his Predecessor.

The Cardinal having offended all the Princes of the Blood, and attracted the Hatred of all the best Qualified Lords of the Kingdom, by his haughty and proud way of governing all, under the Name of the King, to whom it was already in vain to address for any thing whatsoever, without the Consent of the Minister, he had reason to fear not only his Authority envied by the *Grande*s, but also his Life. As he respected nothing, when he was minded to hurt, assured of having the King's approbation in all things, it might easily happen that his Enemies might take such ways to destroy him, as were not conformable to the Formalities of Justice: He therefore took course, that the Cardinal *Spada* should speak to the King of the danger his prime Minister was in, if his Majesty did not provide for his Security. The King, who knew that *Spada* was no Friend to Cardinal *Richlieu*, was surprized at this good Office, and admired the Vertue of that Prelate, who knew how to change the Hatred which was born him, into Friendship. A few days after, he gave him Fifty Arquebusiers on Horseback, to prevent Attempts on his Person. At another time he said in the pretence of the Queen-Mother and the Duke of *Orleans*, That knowing \* that the Life of the Cardinal was in danger, he would bestow a regular Guard upon him, both for the Merit of that Prelate, and the need the State had of him. The Cardinal, who was ravish'd at this, fell to thank the King, and to intreat him not to do it, but in a Tone which shew'd he was

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\* Sept. 28.  
See Mem. de  
B. Jamp. T. 2.  
and his Em-  
bassie into  
England.

\* See Mem.  
Rec. T. 6. p.  
169.

1626. willing to be refused. He added, the more to engage the King not to receive his Excuses, That if he should lose his Life for his Majesty's Service, his Death would be glorious, and he should live in the Memory of the King, which was a Comfort beyond all which could happen to him. But the King again saying he would have it so, the Cardinal humbly disposed himself to have Guards as well as his Majesty.

The King ordain'd him farther, for his greater security, that no person should importune the Cardinal about particular Affairs; and that for the Publick, they should speak first to some other Minister, to the end that if it were necessary the Cardinal should be inform'd, he should give an Order in Writing, to be shewn to the Captain of the Prelate's Guards, who should suffer none to enter but those who brought it. These Precautions were cover'd under the pretence of the little Health which the Cardinal enjoy'd, which would not permit him to employ the greatest part of the Day in giving Audience to all who required it; because at that rate, he must spend the most part of the Night in the King's Affairs, and so could enjoy no repose: His Majesty intended thereby, that he should intend the Affairs of State only, without being distracted by other Business below him.

During these Brouilleries of the Court, the Cardinal ceased not his care of Foreign Affairs. Though the Treaty of *Monzon* was concluded, yet it was not executed; and the *Grifons* were so little satisfied, that it was not known what was to be done to bring it to execution; especially as to what regarded the restitution of the Church-men's Goods; because the Bishop of *Coire* had been possessed of a great part of the *Val-lies* which were in dispute; and they could not be taken away from those who were in possession, without making a great number of Malecontents. The exercise of *Cavinism*, which was forbidden in the *Valteline*, was no more a little Affair, because that way a great many *Calvinist Grifons* who had Lands, would be driven out. \* There further arose

\* *Siri Mem.*  
Rec. T. 6. p.  
172. and the  
following.

great Difficulties touching the manner of demolishing the Forts; and the Ministers of both Crowns reciprocally com-

complained of the Delays which were made on both sides. The Marquis *Mirabel* above all complained, that one was to go seven or eight Leagues from *Paris* to see the Cardinal; and that else it was in vain to speak with the other Ministers, who could do nothing without him. At last the two Crowns consented that the Affair should be treated at *Rome*, between the Ambassadors and the Pope's Ministers; and the Counts of *Bethunes* and *Ognate* agreed at last, by a \* Writing dated the 11th of *November* 1626, of the manner after 177. which the Forts should be demolished, after they should be put into the Pope's Hands.

The King approv'd of this Writing, but he gave Order to the Marquis *de Cœuvres*, before he put it in execution, to regulate the Sum which those of the *Valtelline* were to pay yearly to the *Grisons*, for the Entertainment of Troops necessary for the Preservation of that Country. *Cœuvres* did what he could to make an Agreement between the *Grisons* and those of the *Valtelline*; but the first would no way be brought to it, for fear that by treating with their Subjects they should seem to accept of the Treaty of *Monçon*. They believ'd themselves principally injur'd, in that it was permitted to those of the *Valtelline* to chuse their Governours and Magistrates. But as at the bottom *France* took but little care of the Interests of the *Grisons*, *Cœuvres* had Orders to treat with the *Spanish* Ambassador about that Sum, which was regulated to twenty five thousand Crowns, by a Treaty signed the 22d of *December*, and ratified by the two Kings, and those of the *Valtelline*, although the *Grisons* refus'd to approve of it. Thus it is that the great Powers deal with the small ones, what they would call violating the Law of Nations, were it done to themselves.

This same Year Ambassadors were sent to *Piedmont* and *Venice*, to communicate to the Republick, and to the Duke of *Savoy*, the Treaty of *Monçon*; and as much as was possible, to appease them, *Bullion* was sent into *Savoy*, where he endeavour'd to appease *Charles Emanuel*, by representing to him, among other things, That the King had intended that he should have been compris'd in the Treaty of *Monçon*; and that it might be seen



1626. how great consideration his Majesty had for his Highness, he was ready to allow to his House all the Honours and Titles it could desire. It was known that the Duke aspir'd to the Title of King of *Cyprus*, and they would amuse that Prince with this Chymical Title, because they had nothing real to bestow on him. The Republick of *Venice*, who last possess'd this Isle before it fell into the Hands of the *Turks*, oppos'd it; which gave occasion to the Duke to take some time to think of it. *Bullion* treated also for a suspension of Arms between the Duke and the *Genoese*, and agreed to put the difference, which there was with this Republick, to the Judgment of some Arbitrators. It was propos'd to chuse for this some Counsellors of a Parliament of *France*, and of the Senate of *Milan*, or to refer themselves to the Emperour; but the Duke of *Savoy* accepted neither the one nor the other of these Parties. There were divers Negotiations thereupon during the rest of the Year, which came to no other end, only to make the Duke apprehend, that his interests were not over-dear to *France*.

\*In the Month  
of August.

*Chateaufneuf* was at *Venice* \* whilst *Bullion* was in *Piedmont*; and having inform'd himself of the Rights which the Republick pretended to have on the Kingdom of *Cyprus*, they instructed him, but would not put the Affair under compromise. His principal design was to get the *Venetians* to approve of the Treaty of *Monzon*; upon which the Senate made sundry Remarks, as to the Interests of the King and the Confederates. *Chateaufneuf* having also offer'd the Republick to assure it a Passage over the *Valteline* for ten Years, when their occasions should require, and to make a League to shut it up to the House of *Austria*, with the *Swissers* and *Grisons*; and even *Savoy*, if it would enter there: She answer'd but in general Terms to what regarded the second thing; and she accepted the first with Pleasure, but she wish'd it had been for ever, or at least during the Life of *Lewis XIII.* The King intended, by agreeing in a writing this Passage of the *Valteline*, to remark, That it was to be without derogation to the Treaty of *Monzon*; but the Republick would not have any mention made of a Treaty, in which she had no part; and the

the desired farther, that the *Grisons* should ratifie the King's Promise. After some difficulties, *Chateauneuf* agreed to what the Republick desired, by a Writing signed the 21st of *August* 1626, and after approved by the King. The Court of *France* nevertheless tried first to have it changed, in case it might be obtain'd of the Commonwealth; but it being impossible to bend her, the King sent at last a Ratification pure and simple.

*Chateauneuf*, departing from *Venice*, took the way of the *Valtelina*, there, with *Cauvres*, to excuse the Treaty of *Monzon*; and the first thing which they did was to regulate what the Inhabitants of the *Valtelina* were to pay to the *Grisons*, which was reduc'd, as hath been said already, to twenty five Thousand Crowns.

They, in the sequel, treated with *D. Gonzales de Cordova*, and *Torquato Conti*, who commanded the Pope's Troops (after the *Marquis de Bagni*), of the day, and the method of the demolition of the Forts, \* and agreed \* *January 21.* upon two Articles; of which one regarded the Inventory of the Artillery, and of the Munitions and Victuals which had been deposited in the Hands of his Holiness; and the other, the general acquittance which was to be given to the Pope. A \* few Weeks after, they \* *February 15.* began to demolish those Forts, and employ'd therein so considerable a number of the Country People, that in five or six Days they were entirely rased. After that, *Cauvres* caused what was due to be paid to the Regiments of *Swiss*, and the *Grisons*, which he had; and the *Marquis de Feuquieres*, carried the *French* Troops back into *France*. *Cauvres*, for reward of his Services which he had done the Crown, receiv'd at last the Patent of *Mareschal of France*, and was afterwards call'd the *Mareschal d'Estrees*, from the name of his House. Before he return'd to Court, he install'd *Mesmin* in the Employ of Ambassador in Ordinary of the most Christian King, to the *Grisons*, for to assist them with his Counsels, and deal in such manner, that they should take care to guard the Passage of the *Valtelina*.

The *Grisons*, to whom they had made already great Promises, and whom at last they had strip-

1627. ped of a considerable part of their Right in the *Valtelline*, could not digest the Articles of the Treaty of *Monzon*, whatever they could do to invite them to accept them. They resolved to send their Deputies to the Court, maugre all the Remonstrances of the *Maréchal d'Estrees*, and of *Mesmin*, to give the King thanks for the Succours which he had sent them, and at the same time to represent to him the wrong which had been done them by the Treaty of *Monzon*.

A while before *Chateauneuf* was departed for *Switzerland*, with Orders to propose three things to the *Cantons*: The first was, That they should approve of the same Treaty. The second, That they should confirm the Resolution which they had taken, not to suffer any *German Troops* to pass into *Italy*; or, at least, that they should limit the League of *Milan*, not to suffer any *German Troops* to pass, but in case that *Dutchy* was actually invaded. The third was, That the *Cantons* should unite themselves with *France*, the *Venetians* and the *Grisons*, to cause the Treaty to be observed, and to guard the Passages. At the instance of *Chateauneuf*, a general Diet of all the *Cantons* and their Allies, was convoked at *Soleure*. He endeavour'd to persuade the *Catholicks*, that they had reason to approve of the Treaty, since by it the *Catholick Religion* was re-establish'd in the *Valtelline*; and the *Protestants*, because the *Grisons* were re-entred into the Possession of the Country.

But the *Grisons* had also sent one Deputy to the Diet, to oppose the approbation of the Treaty of *Monzon*, and to pray the *Cantons* to join some one of their Body to the Deputation, which they designed to send to *Paris*, to represent their Grievances to the King, which reduc'd themselves to these three Principals: 1. That the *Protestant Religion* was banished the *Valtelline* and the neighbouring Countries: 2. That their Sovereignty was not well enough established by the Treaty: 3. That nothing was done without the Ratification of the *Emperour* and the Arch-Duke *Leopold*, who for this might annul some Treaties which they had made with them.

Cha-

*Chateauneuf* answered on the Article of Religion, That they had innovated nothing in that, since the *Grifons* had agreed it by several Treaties; and that they were not to hinder the *Calvinist Grifons* from going into the *Valtelline* about their Affairs: As for their Sovereignty, it was set on the same Foot on which it stood by the Treaty of *Madrid*; and if they lost any thing, that Loss was recompenced by a good Sum of Money. As to the Ratification of the Treaty which they requir'd, all the Treaties made since the Year 1617, were made void by the Articles of *Monzon*; and the King had given Order to his Ambassador in *Spain*, to labour to obtain by means of his Catholick Majesty, that which they desired of the House of *Austria* in *Germany*.

The Eight Catholick Cantons approved of the Treaty, such as it was; and the Protestants gave their Hands to all, except the Article which concerned Religion. After this *Chateauneuf* return'd into *France*, not having found it to the purpose to press the second Article of his Instruction, and the third was full of difficulties: So the Affair of the *Valtelline* was rather laid asleep than concluded, to the satisfaction of the *Grifons*; and there was none but the Catholick Inhabitants of that Country which inclin'd to the side of the *Spaniards*, who went off Gainers. As they were oblig'd to that of the *Spaniards*, so they remain'd more addicted to *Spain* than to *France*; and the *Grifons* on the contrary were but little satisfied with the *French*, who after vast Charges, obtain'd not in the end to shut up the *Valtelline* from the House of *Austria*, as will be seen by what follows. But the Brouilleries of the Court oblig'd the Cardinal to get out of this Affair readily at any rate whatsoever.

To return presently to what passed in *France*, the King having conyoked an Assembly of Notables for the beginning of *December*, in the Year 1626. It was open'd the 2d of *December*, and ended the 24th of *February* in the Year following. Besides, the King, the Queen-Mother, and Monsieur, who was President, and assisted by the Cardinal de la *Valette*, and the Marshalls de la *Force*, and de *Bassompierre*, it was composed of the first and second President of the Parliament of *Paris*;



1627. *Paris*; of the first Presidents of the eight other Parliaments of the Kingdom; of the Procurators General; of the first and second Presidents of the Chambers of Accounts of *Paris*, *Rouan* and *Dijon*, with their Procurators General, and of those of the three Courts of Aids, of the Lieutenant-Civil of *Paris*, of six Knights of the Order of the Holy Ghost, of six of the Council, and of twelve Prelates. Before, the Custom was to convoke the States of that Kingdom, to treat of things which were to be propos'd: But the Cardinal, who knew that in the States many times more regard was had to the publick good, than to the desires of the Ministers, would never convoke them. The Notables, who had no Authority but what the King was pleased to give them, never took any heed to oppose the Ministers; from whence that began to be call'd, *The Good of the State*; not what might contribute to the Happiness of the three Orders of the Kingdom, but what might afford means to the King, or rather to his Ministers, to execute the Projects which they had propos'd to themselves. The Nobility, nor the third State, not any more making a Body, and the Clergy not assembling themselves, but under the good Pleasure of the King or his Ministers, no complaint could any more be made of the Government, without appearing seditious, and being presently ruined by the Authority of those who were blamed; because no particular person could say that he had power to speak in the Name of any one whatsoever, or to support himself on the Authority of a politick Assembly, since there was now no such thing. The Kings were become absolute Masters of the Laws, and their Ministers were in capacity to take away all sorts of Privileges and ancient Customs, to do what they thought fit. It is for the Politicians to see whether it be profitable that there should be a Power in the State, which may do all things without punishment, and dare every thing, as it never fails to happen; or which is better, if there should be no power but what is limited by the Law, and which dare undertake nothing but what is conformable to it. Some Persons believe, that an Authority without Bounds, prevents all sorts of disturbances: But should this be, there would be a great many Questions

Questions to be made about this Matter : as, Whether it were better for a whole Kingdom, and even for all Mankind, to live in an eternal Slavery, under a few Persons, subject to very great defects, because it is in their power to do all things : or to be sometimes disturbed with Civil Wars, which end at last, and leave to the people great intervals of Tranquility ? It may also be demanded, If the unlimited Power of a Monarch be more advantageous to him than an Authority bounded by equitable Laws ; because we often see that Monarchies of that sort, in which the Princes, without restraint, indulge their Desires, spend themselves so fast, that besides the infinite Miseries, which their Subjects suffer in time of Peace, they are unable to repulse their Enemies in time of War. I say nothing of Justice and Equity, which are seldom the Products of Despotick Power ; and I speak as little of the Gospel, which the Ministers of Princes hear much less than the people ; I only ask, if it be advantageous to persons brought up in pleasure, infinitely full of violent Passions, and drunk with perpetual Flatteries, to see nothing to contradict their Desires ? I demand further, if after some Reigns of this nature, Posterity hath reason to bless the Memory of those who laid the Foundations of this unbounded Authority ? These indeed are Questions which the Designs I have proposed to my self, will not allow me to resolve, and which the Readers may examine if they find it to their purpose. I come presently to what pass'd in the Assembly of Notables, which I will relate more at length, that it may be known, what the State of the Kingdom was when the Cardinal undertook the Administration of Affairs.

\* The Members of the Assembly having taken their places on Chairs and Benches, which were placed for that end. The King told them, That he had assembled them to remedy the disorders of the State, and that the Keeper of the Seals should more fully declare his Pleasure.

*Marillac* begun to say, that the King had convok'd them to have their Advice in the great and important Affairs of the State, in imitation of his Predecessors, who sometimes assembled the three Estates, sometimes notable Persons of

1627.

\* Sequel of the Relation of France in the year 1628 p. 127.

1627. of a fewer number. He after put himself upon the Praises of the King, and the Favour which God had shew'd him, to discover divers Conspiracies formed against his Authority; which he had re-established on their Ruins. After this he represented, that the Civil Wars, since the year 1620 had consum'd vast Sums, and that it had been farther necessary to succour the Allies of the State out of the Kingdom. That the ordinary Revenue of the King not exceeding sixteen Millions of Livres, he had been obliged in the last Years to expend between thirty six and forty Millions, of which part had been rais'd by several ways, but that he owed yet more than fifty: That for this he was resolv'd to retrench his unnecessary Expences; and that he had already suppress'd the Offices of Constable and Admiral, the Salaries whereof amounted to no less than five hundred thousand Livres yearly: That he would demolish all the useles Fortifications, to withdraw the Garrisons which were to keep them: That he would redeem his Demesnes engag'd at a low Rate, as well as the Tallies and Farm of Salt: That to augment the Revenues of the State, he would endeavour to make Trade flourish, which the Neighbours had wholly drawn away to themselves. Lastly, the Keeper insisted on two Articles, which requir'd new Regulations; the one was the ill administration of the Revenue, and the other, the frequent Rebellions.

The Marechal Schomberg spoke after Marillac, and amongst other things said, That the King would have always on foot thirty thousand Men well paid; and that he had given him Memorials how to find ways to defray that Charge, which he would communicate to the Assembly.

When he had ended his Speech, the Cardinal de Richieu began, and discuss'd the same things with the Keeper; to which he added, That there wanted not only many Ordinances to bring things into Order, but also for the good execution of such Acts as should be made: That the Redemption of the King's Demesnes, of the Aids, and of the Registers, came to about two Millions; but innocent ways were to be used to raise them: That he designed to labour incessantly to redress all the Affairs

Affairs of the Crown ; and if he could accomplish so good and so glorious a design, he should die with joy after it, and believe he had great Reason to give thanks to God. 1627.

The first President of *Paris* spoke after the Cardinal, and enlarged himself much on the Praises of *Henry IV.* and his Son *Lewis XIII.* He exhorted the Assembly not to be mûte, as others had been, and ended with Praises to God that he will bestow Children on the King.

In fine, the Keeper of the Seals said, That the King would send his Propositions to the Assembly by the Procurator-General of the Parliament of *Paris*. Thus ended the opening of this Assembly, where all were disposed \* to think as the King should think fit.

Although it was permitted to the Notables to seek out Remedies for the Disorders proposed to them, yet nothing was done but under the good Pleasure of the Ministers, who would that the Assembly should authorize their Conduct, and not censure it as the States might have done. There was read a Memorial, which was said to be compos'd by the Marquis *d'Effiat*. See an Abridgment of its Contents.

It was there said, That although there never had been a King under whom the Treasury was so well managed as under *Henry IV.* yet were the Financers then often found to fall short, were it because of Expences which they had not taken notice of ; or because of the Abatements of the Farms, by reason of Barrenness or Mortalities, which produced want of value in the general Receipts ; or because of the extraordinary Expences which must be sometimes made : That there was no Year, in the midst of a Peace, wherein the Expence did not surpass the estimation made of it by five or six Millions of Livres : That *Henry* the Fourth, because of this, made his Expence less than his Receipt by four or five Millions, beside what he caus'd to be laid aside of the whole Years Management out of the Moneys destin'd for his ordinary Expences, or which came into his Coffers by extraordinary ways : That from thence it came, that during the last ten Years of his Reign, he had laid by seven Millions, which were found

\* *Mem. de  
Bessomp. T. 2.  
p. 397.*



1627. found in the *Bastile*, and in the Hands of the Treasurer at his death : That after his death they could never attain to balance the Expences to the Receipt ; and that in a little time, as they found themselves in Arrear; they were forc'd to touch the Treasure ; and this way they went until the Year 1613. That afterwards the Expences which encreased, caused them to have recourse to sundry Creations of Offices ; and with all this they were fain to engage the Revenues of the Years following : That they could scarcely pay the Interest to those who had advanced Money, which was the cause that they acquitted themselves of their Charges as they pleased : That the Farmers and their Partisans had drawn the Interest of their Money to fifteen, eighteen, and twenty *per Cent*, and never gave up an exact Account. That all being in disorder, it was no easie matter for the Superintendant of the Finances to see all the Accompts which are not yet stated, and to reduce those who detained the King's Money to be accountable for it. That the Constable and the Admiral, whose Employes were suppressed, had been the cause of infinite Expences, because they never gave an exact Account.

That the State of the Treasury was to be remitted to that of the Year 1608. in which the Queen-Mother had caused to be remitted by the King three Millions of Livres, on the Taxes, and on the Impositions, and took away divers Taxes which burthen'd the People : That afterwards the King was obliged to treble the Pensions, and to give three hundred thousand Livres to the Prince of *Conde*, and two hundred thousand to the Prince of *Conti*, besides a quantity of others, which came to five Millions of Livres.

That the Tallies yearly amounted to near nineteen Millions ; but there came but six to the Treasury, the rest remained in the Hands of two and twenty thousand Collectors, and of one hundred and seventy private, or general Receivers, who carried them to the Treasury : That the general Farm of the *Gabelles* was seven Millions four hundred thousand Livres, and that the Charges of it was two Millions : That there were six Millions and three hundred thousand Livres alienated, and that there remain'd

remain'd to the King but one Million and one hundred thousand Livres : That there was the like Alienation on the Rent of Aids ; of which the Farm was near two Millions : That, in fine, the two thirds of the Revenue of the other Farms, were hardly sufficient to defray the Charges of them.

In the sequel, the Marquis *de Effiat* made an Account of all the Expences which were to be made, after it was entred in charge, and which arose much above the Receipt. There was no way found to provide Money readily, but the creation of a number of new Offices, and the establishment of divers Charges on the Titles of Offices. Besides this, divers Customs were established which were not before. These were the matters to which the Convocation of the Notables principally tended, and upon them the Ministers were willing to discharge the hatred which the new Impositions might draw upon them.

The Cardinal of *Richlieu* was but twice in this Assembly, at the opening of it, as I said, \* and six Weeks afterwards. He took his place in a Chair near to Monsieur, and below the Cardinal *de la Valette*. He there presented divers Articles, which the Register read ; after which the Cardinal spoke, and explained them at length. In the first Article was proposed, to moderate the Penalties against Offenders of the State, and to be contented with depriving them of their Charges for the second Disobedience. The Assembly could not digest this Moderation, and concluded to request the King, That the ancient Laws might be executed against Criminals. The Cardinal having always held it for a Maxim to pardon none who were accused of Crimes against the State, it may be thought, that he only proposed this excessive Moderation, on purpose that the Assembly might reject it ; which to be sure it would, to shew its Zeal for the Royal Authority. Some others regarded the Preparation by Sea and Land, which were to be made against the *English*, who threatned a new Rupture in favour of the *Rochellers*. All that the Ministers would have, was approved of without any consideration of the Expence.

January 11.  
Aubrey. Lib.  
2. c. 9.

Where-

1627.

Whereas to raise Money readily, they had for many years past, sold almost all the Charges and Offices both of the Court and Army, and of the Tribunals of Justice; and those who were the first Buyers, had liberty to sell them again: No body came thither without ready Money; which caused that no regard was had neither to the Quality, nor the merit of those who presented themselves; and the poor Nobility were quite out of probability to advance themselves \*. They thereupon presented a Petition to the King, wherein they represented their Condition, and supplicated him to take such Orders, as that the Favours which they therein specified might be granted by him, to the Nobility of his Realm.

\* Feb. 10.  
See Sequel of  
the Rebellion  
of France, p.  
566.

For answer to this Petition, and to hinder the Alarm which might be taken of the new Projects for War, of which the Kingdom was full against the *English* and *Rochellers*, the King gave a Declaration, dated the 16th. of February; in which, after notice taken, that the Design of comforting his People, and to cause them to enjoy a solid Peace, was the reason of his Assembling the Nobles, he declared his Intention was,

\* Ibid. p. 577.

1. To reunite his Subjects in the Unity of the Catholick Church, by all the good ways of Sweetness, of Love, of Patience, and good Examples.

2. To re-establish the Dignity of the Church, by the exact Observation of the Ecclesiastical Constitutions and Royal Ordinances relating thereto.

3. To maintain his Subjects of the pretended Reformed Religion, in all the Liberty which he had granted to them, causing them to enjoy their Goods quietly, and their Offices, by the Benefit of the Edicts, and Favours which they had obtain'd from him, in expectation that it would please God to illuminate their Hearts, and bring them back into the Bosom of his Church.

4. To advance the Nobility with many Favours and Privileges, for their entrance into Benefices, in the Charges and Offices as well of his Majesty's Household, as of his Armies, according as they should render themselves capable.

5. To cause the Children of poor Gentlemen to be instructed gratis, in Exercises befitting their Condition; and

and to employ those of that Order both at Sea and Land, 1627. that their Condition should be worthy of Envy.

6. To re-establish Commerce, and therefore to renew and augment its Privileges.

7. To comfort his People, by easing them of Three millions of Livres for the next five Years, comprehending therein the Six hundred thousand Livres, of which they had been discharged in the Year 1627. so that they should find themselves entirely eased in the Year 1632.

The evil is, that in giving on one side, there is a taking on the other; and nothing of all this was put in execution but what the Minister found for his purpose. There was a great deal of talk of re-establishing the Commerce at Sea, of which the King made the Cardinal of *Richlieu* Superintendant: but he needed but have left this Affair to the Industry of private Persons, which is infinitely greater and more active, than that of a Minister who understands nothing of it, and who hath innumerable other Affairs. So that this Project produced no great fruit, no more than many others which were publish'd under the Administration of the Cardinal to amuse the People, which was otherways drawn out by unprofitable Wars.

In fine, the Assembly of the Notables, having composed various Articles on the Propositions which were there made, was broke up the 24th. of February, and had such Respect (for its Advice) as it pleased the Council to give.

The King, after he had dissolv'd the Office of Admiral, which was enjoy'd by the Duke of Montmorency, gave one part of his Functions to the Cardinal of *Richlieu*, \* in whose behalf he erected a new Office of Grand Master, Head and Superintendant General of the Navigation and Commerce of France. In this Edict the King declared, that he intended, That the Cardinal of *Richlieu* his Principal Minister, for the signal and important Services which he had already done him, and which he still actually did to the State, should have Entrance, Voice, and deliberative Opinion in the Parliament, as well in all the Assemblies of the Chambers on Council-Days, as on Pleadings, and should have a Seat on the side of the Peers, with

\* By an Edict, verified March 18. *Anbery's Life of the Cardinal*, lib. 2. c. 10.



1627. the same Rank and the same Degree which he had in the Council of State. The Cardinal, to take possession,

\* went a few days after into Parliament, accompanied with a great number of Clergy and Nobility.

It was agreed by the Peace of *Rochelle*, that the Fort of *Tadon*, built by the *Rochellers*, should be demolish'd; and they begun effectually soon after to pull it down: but seeing that not only *Fort-Louis* was still standing, but that *Thoiras*, to whom the King had given the Government of the Isle of *Rhée*, built there \* a great Fort near *St. Martins*, besides that of *de la Prée*, they found that the Peace which was granted to them, was only to gain time; so they left off demolishing the Fort of *Tadon*, and by *Soubise* petition'd the King of England to assist them against the Designs of the Court \*. They also sent to *London* a Gentleman call'd *St. Blancard*, who so well persuaded some of the King of Great Britain's Ministers, that it was his Interest not to suffer *Rochelle* to fall into the hands of the King of France, that one of them said in a full Council, That it was less prejudicial to England to lose the Kingdom of *Ireland*, than to suffer the Reducement of *Rochelle*, and so let the Protestant Religion be ruin'd in France.

\* *Bassomp.*  
*Mem. T. 2.*  
*P. 402.*

\* *Aubrey lib.*  
*2 c. 11.*

This Sentiment was agreeable to that of the greatest part of the Protestants in England, who believed that the ruine of *Calvinism* in France, would be the Prelude to the Destruction of the Protestant Religion in England. In the interim, perhaps the King of Great Britain, who was but little touch'd with the Interest of Religion, had not determin'd thereupon to make War with France, if the Passion of the Duke of *Buckingham*, his Favourite, had not prompted him to it. It is assured, that three things had provoked him against France \*: of which the first was, That he had in vain desired that some of his Kindred might be Ladies of the Bed-Chamber to the Queen of England; as by the Contract of Marriage it was agreed, that none but Catholicks should attend her, and the French which were with her, fearing that in spite the English would insinuate themselves into her Favour; the Duke could obtain nothing for his Kindred, which had extremly irritated him against the French \*. The second thing was, That he passionately desired to go

\* *Aubrey, ib.*

\* *Bassomp. ib.*  
*P. 403.*

enc

once more to the Court of *France*, which the King notwithstanding his Importunities, had refused. He had written on this occasion, some piquant Letters to the Cardinal, and received some of the like nature. They add a third Reason, which seems almost incredible, That this Duke was fallen in love with the Queen Anne of Austria, and that occasion'd his great desire to go into *France*, and that they refused to receive him there with so much Obstinacy. But be the reason what it will, it is certain that the Duke of Buckingham urged the King to succour the *Rebelle*s; and that Affair being concluded, the *English* began, without any Declaration of War, to seize upon the *French* Vessels which were in their Harbours \*, and took two Men of War from *Diep* and *Havre de Grace*.

1627.

\* *Siri Mem.*  
Rec. T. 6. p.  
254.

These Breaches of the Peace on the *English* side, caused the King \*, by a Declaration, to forbid all Commerce with *England*, and order'd all the *English* effects to be seiz'd. Afterwards, as they understood, that great Preparations were making in *England*, the Cardinal took care to fortifie the Coasts, on which they fear'd the *English* would make a Descent, and to dispose all things to receive them. Although the *Mareschal de Bassompierre*, who was returned from *London* not long before \*, could not believe that the *English* were in a condition to make a Descent into *France*. In the mean time, the King receiving Advice every day of the *English* Preparations, doubted not but that this great Arming threatned the Coasts of *Poitou*, or *Saintonge*; and resolv'd to go thither in Person with the Duke of *Orleans*; but before his departure, he went to the \* Parliament, to confirm several Edicts, compiled by *Marillac* Keeper of the Seals, and which from his Name were call'd *The Code Mubaud*. The King fell sick that day; and his Fever not abating, he was forced to stay at *Villiers*.

\* *Siri Mem.*  
Rec. T. 6. p.  
253.\* Dated May 8.  
Sequel of the  
Rebellion of  
*France*, p. 588.\* *Mem. de*  
*Bassomp.* T.  
2. p. 406.

\* June 28;

It hapned before this, that Madam \* was brought to bed of a Daughter, which lessen'd the Joy of the Court, which had hoped it would have been a Son. But the King, who was displeas'd with that Joy, was not angry, because he seem'd already to think that the People look'd upon his Brother's Children as the Heirs of the Crown. It

\* May 29.

1627. also happen'd, that Madam \* died some days after, which extreemly troubled the Queen-Mother; but of which the King, jealous of any good which might come to his Brother, rejoiced as much as his greatest Enemies\*.  
 \* *Siri Mem.*  
 Rec. T. 6. p. 263.  
 He caus'd the Queen-mother to be told, That he intreated her not to think of marrying of Monsieur suddenly; and gave Orders to *Puilaurens* and *le Coigneux*, in whom that Prince plac'd his greatest Confidence, industriously to divert him from it, by proposing to him all sorts of Pleasures, for which they furnish'd him with all the Money he could desire. They bought also *Limours* of Cardinal *Richlieu*, for him to divert himself there with Hunting. But the Queen-Mother, who found the King would never have Children, thought the sooner to marry Monsieur to one of the Daughters of the Great Duke of *Florence*, over whom she might have the greater Authority, in case she should ever come to be Queen. This Design was extraordinarily controverted, and also was the cause of the removal of the Queen-Mother, as you will find by the sequel. I must at present speak of the defence of the Isle of *Rhe*; after which, I will come to those Treaties which concern'd this Marriage, and the foreign Affairs.

Before the King fell sick, he nam'd the Duke of *Orleans* Lieutenant-General of his Armies, and under him the *Marschals de Bassompierre* and *Schomberg*. Being fallen sick, as I have said, and yet keeping his Bed, news came to the Court, \* that the Duke of *Buckingham* had made a Descent on the Isle of *Rhe*, maugre *Thoiras*, who, after he had threetimes repulsed the *English*, was at last constrain'd to retreat into the Fort of *St. Martin*, which was but ill provided to endure a Siege. A great number of Men were lost on this occasion; and the Canton of the *English* Ships made a great havock on *Thoiras*, who was there wounded, and lost two of his Brothers. At the same time *Buckingham* sent six Ships of War to cruize at the mouth of the *Garonne*, and as many to that of the *Loyre*, to prohibit all Vessels from coming out of those Rivers, and to keep divers Places in alarms. It was not fit to let the King know this, lest it should augment his Distemper. They after acquainted him with some things; but hid from him the danger

\* *Siri, ibid. p.*  
 280.

danger of the Isle of *Rhée*, which they concluded they could not keep. *Buckingham* came with Twenty six Ships, and had set eight thousand Men on shoar; who after they had beaten *Thoiras* at their landing, went to besiege the Fort of *St. Martin*. In the interim, Monsieur impatiently desired to be at the head of the Army, of which he had been declar'd Lieutenant-General. The Cardinal told him, That he could not advise the King, sick as he was, to suffer it. But the Duke of *Orleans* was so enrag'd at this Refusal, that it was impossible to detain him any longer. But as they had long since rais'd great Jealousies in the King, for every thing that might be to the advantage of his Brother, it was not difficult for the Cardinal, who took care to blow those Coals of Jealousie, to re-call him. The Duke of *Orleans* received that news at *Saumur*; but a little after the Queen-Mother, who was angry at this usage of Monsieur, obtain'd of the King, that he should proceed on his Journey; and he came to *Poitou*, where the Army was assembled \*. In the mean time, the Cardinal neglected not to send Victuals and Relief into the Isle of *Rhée*; but all his Cares had been vain, had *Thoiras* been less brave, or had the Duke of *Buckingham* known how to attack a Place. The Cardinal had for some time been Governour of *Oleron* and of *Brouage*, which Governments were of little profit to him; but he had desired them to have some Place of retreat, in case new *Brouilleries* should happen at Court, and he found himself not the strongest there. He then made the Garrisons be doubled, and paid them their Arrears out of his own Money, that he might encourage and dispose them to act more vigorously in whatsoever he should employ them. He also got together a considerable number of Barques with Oars, to carry Succours and Victuals to the Isle of *Rhée*, as soon as was possible.

The Duke of *Buckingham*, a few days after his Descent, publish'd a *Manifesto*, dated July 21. not only to excuse his Design in respect of *France*, but also to make the *English* believe, that pure Zeal of Religion had induced the King of *England* to this Action \*. He said, That the desire the King of *Great Britain* had to maintain the Reformed Religion, had engaged him to seek

\* See *Anthony's* Life of the Cardinal, lib. 2. c. 12.

\* Sequel of the Rebellion, p. 612.



1627.

for the Sister of France, that he might be in the better state to support the Reformed *French*: That becoming as it were Mediator and Guarrantee of the last Treaty of Peace, he could not behold, without complaint, the Contraventions of the *French* King's Ministers, and the refusal they had made to do Justice to those of the Reformed Religion, and to him, and because of the great Preparatives made against *Rochele*, he thought himself oblig'd speedily to take Arms to relieve it: That by the Word they had often given him, to satisfie those of the Reformed Religion, in due time, and when they had rendred themselves worthy by their Submissions, he had always understood the demolishing of *Fort-Louis*; and that instead of pulling it down, they had augmented its Fortifications, and also made other Forts in the Isle of *Rhee*.

\* Mem. of  
the Duke of  
*Rohan*, at the  
end.

The Court had never acknowledged the King of *England* for Mediator and Guarrantee of the Peace: But it was true, \* that his Ambassadors had promised the *Hugonors* to cause it to be observ'd. It was also certain, that instead of letting them enjoy their Privileges, they sought to quarrel with them, and prepared to ruine them on the first Opportunity: Although it was publickly denied, it was confess'd in private; and the event hath proved, that they had reason to complain. This *Manifesto* was not absolutely false, though the Partisans of the Court said so.

The Duke of *Rohan* was to form the Body of an Army in *Poitou*, at the same time that they should hear that the *English* were landed in the Isle of *Rhee*. He also publish'd a *Manifesto* to excite the People to take Arms, principally founded on the Courts not having observed the Treaty of *Montpellier*, although the King had promis'd it. This *Manifesto* had not all the Effect the Duke expected, because a number of *Hugonor* Nobility had for a long time oppos'd it; and this was one of the principal causes of the ruin of the Party. Had it been perfectly united, or had it employ'd all its force that way, it would not have been too strong to resist the Court's Undertakings; but being divided, it was impossible to conserve its Advantages. Those who were against the Duke, call'd him Disturber, and accus'd him  
of

of Cheating and Cowardice, since they feign'd not to see how the Court sought to destroy the Protestant Religion; or else being convinced of it, they durst not oppose it. Without searching which of them were in the right, it is certain, that if all the *Hugonots* had been of the mind to abandon themselves entirely to the Good Faith of the Court and the King's Equity, and the Court had been assur'd thereof, it would not have been long before they had been stripp'd of all their Privileges, and constrain'd to go to Mass. The Ecclesiasticks always made a Vertue of this; and the Interest of the Laicks, which made them seek their Favour, or the Zeal which possess'd them, defac'd in their Spirits all that which is call'd Sweetness and Equity in Religion. If at any time they have been restrain'd on this occasion, it was because they thought they could not ruin the Hereticks without punishment; and they never fail'd to do it when they could. The Duke not having been able to get many Men together in *Poitou*, because of the King's Army, retreated into *Languedoc*, where he rais'd several Towns. But the Court sent the Prince of *Condé* thither, to oppose his Designs; and *Galland*, Countess of State and a *Hugonot*, to divert the People of the same Religion from taking Arms.

But to return to *Buckingham*, who instead of employing Art and Force for taking the Fort (into which *Thoiras* was retreated) before it could be relieved, he thought to starve it, yet without absolutely blocking it up, contenting himself with keeping a good Guard, that nothing might enter. It was nevertheless easie to judge that *France* would try all ways to succour *Thoiras*, if time permitted it; and that in a few Weeks the neighbouring Coasts would be cover'd with People, and Boats ready to throw Men and Provisions into the Fort. It was also dangerous for the Great Ships of *England* to pass the Autumn on Coasts full of Banks and Shoals. In the interim, two Months pass'd without the *English's* doing any thing considerable to carry the Cittadel, which resisted them, nor could they hinder little Barks from entering it daily.

1627.

\* *Anbry's*  
Life of the  
Card. 1.2.13.

*Thoiras* fearing he should in the end be forced to surrender, by reason he began to want Victuals, let the Court know \*, That if they furnish'd him not presently, or drove the *English* out of the Island, he should be forced to capitulate: At the same time he advis'd them, That they might enter their Forces into the Island, by the Fort de la Prée, and attack the *English*. This Proposition being examin'd by the King's Council, some were of Opinion to desert the Isle of *Rhée*, and to fix themselves wholly to the blocking up of *Rochelle*, until they could formally besiege it. They grounded their Sentiments on the King's not having Forces enough to do both at once. But the Cardinal was of *Thoiras's* Opinion, and represented, That in a little time the King would have Forces enough to guard the Posts which he had about *Rochelle*, and to undertake what was propos'd: That by withdrawing the Troops which were in the Isle of *Oleron*, and joining two thousand Men of the Army Commanded by Monsieur, they might throw Five or six thousand Foot, and Five hundred Horse into the Isle of *Rhée*, which, join'd with the Garrison of *St. Martins*, would be enough to beat out the *English*: That it was greatly important to the King to preserve this Isle; because if the Enemy should become Masters of it, that of *Oleron* would quickly fall into their hands: That by means of these Two Islands, they would keep the neighbouring Coasts in continual Alarms: That they would draw great quantities of Money from the Vines, the Corn, and the Salt of *Rhée* and *Oleron*: That they would not only hinder the transport of Salt from *Brouage*, *Marennnes*, and the neighbouring Coasts, but would extreamly incommode the Trade of *Bourdeaux*: That, finally, what good success they should have in the Isle of *Rhée*, would infallibly be follow'd by very ill Effects through the Kingdom. These Reasons were strong enough of themselves, had they not been supported by the Authority of the Cardinal, to make the Council give ear to the Proposition of *Thoiras*: Wherefore they resolv'd to attempt the relief of *Rhée*, by embarking the number of Troops which the Cardinal spoke of, if they could find Barques fit for it on the Coasts of the Ocean. \* It is also said, that there being no Money in the King's Treasury, the Car-

\* *Anbry's*, ib.

Cardinal, out of his own Fund, advanced the Charges, 1627. and pawn'd his Jewels. But there was little appearance that the King had so little Credit, as not presently to find ready Money necessary for the Payment of those Barques; and if the Cardinal advanced any of his own, it was more for Ostentation than Necessity. His vain and ambitious Nature induced him always to what might make the greatest noise in the World, and beget in the People the more admiration of him.

At this time, \* Don *Diego Messia*, Ambassadour Extraordinary of *Spain*, offer'd to *France* Forty Ships of War in behalf of the King his Master, who had for a long time been provok'd against the *English*; which Offer was accepted. But the tediousness of the *Spaniards* hinder'd any dependance on them, and in effect they sent them not. They also renewed the Alliance with the States of the *United Provinces*, for fear lest they should furnish *England* with Shipping. They oblig'd themselves to assist *France* against all whatsoever, except *England*; and promised also not to help the last. They further engag'd not to make Peace with *Spain*, but after three Months notice given to *France* to treat about it. The King, on his part, oblig'd to lend them a Million of Livres yearly. This League was to continue three years as that which was just expired: if the States should break it before, they promised to restore the Money to the King which they owed, and also the *French* Troops which they had in their Service. The Marquis de *Mirabel* complain'd of this League, which they had made with People who were in Rebellion against *Spain*, whilst that Crown prepar'd it self to aid *France* against its rebellious Subjects. They answer'd him, That they had not made this League with the *Hollanders*, but for fear lest they should have assisted *England* with a powerful Fleet; and that the *English* being once reduc'd to stay at home, the King would let his Catholick Majesty see the good Disposition he was in, as to the regard of him, even in what related to the *Hollanders*. The States Ambassador having understood the Answer which was given to him of *Spain*, complain'd in his turn; and said, That if they already contriv'd to break the League concluded for three years, his Majesty would be oblig'd to take necessary Measures for their Preservation,

\* *Siri Mem.*  
Rec. T. 6. p.  
282. and following.



§ 627. servation, without concerning themselves with *France*; they paid this Ambassador in the same kind they did the *Spanish*; and nothing but Time could declare to which of the Two they would keep their Word; because it was certain, that according as Interest should alter, they would act for the one or the other.

Whilst they prepared the Succours to drive the *English* out of the Isle of *Rhé*, there ceased not several times Men and Victuals to get in by day and night, traversing the Cannonades of the *English*. The King got remission from his Tertian Ague, \* and came to his Army, which block'd up *Rochelle*, which was Commanded by Monsieur, and under him by the Duke of *Angoulême*. The King brought Two other Lieutenant-Generals, and gave a Body a-part to the Marechal *Bassompierre*, because he would not have the Duke of *Angoulême* for a Companion; the Custom being, that an Army where the King was present, could be Commanded but by one Marechal of *France*, if any were there. The Cardinal favour'd the Duke; but *Bassompierre's* Resolution at last carried it, because they believ'd they had need of him. †

The Succours which they had resolv'd to throw into the Isle of *Rhé*, were not ready till the beginning of November, although the Cardinal had sent Persons a long time before, to gather up a convenient number of Barques and Shallops, and was himself at the Places appointed in the Month of October. At last Six thousand Foot and Three hundred Horse of the best of the Army, landed in the night, between the 5th. and 6th. of November, conducted by the Marechal *Schomberg*, and by *Merrillac*, Brother to the Keeper of the Seals. The Great Ships of the *English* not being capable of coming near, were fain to shoot at a distance at those which pass'd, but they kill'd very few; and when the *French* were landed over-against the Fort of *St. Martins*, they entrench'd themselves. The next morning the *French* Army put it self in Battel - array, to attack the *English* in their Intrenchments, in case they would not come out; but the Duke of *Buckingham* met them; and after a Fight, wherein the *French* say that he lost near Two thousand Men, he retreated in good Order, ‡ until having pass'd the

\* *Siri M. m.*

*Rec. T. 6. p. 285.*

† *Basin. Mem. T. 2. p. 437.*

the Borough de la Cuard, and finding himself in the entrance of the Passage which brought the English to their Barques, they put themselves in disorder, because every one would pass in first. They had lost a great number on this occasion, if the night, which was come on, had not stopp'd the French, who pursued them. When *Thoiras* saw the Trenches almost deserted, he made a Sally with Eight hundred Men, who routed those the Duke of *Buckingham* had left therein. All who could recover the Fleet, embark'd with the rest, and set sail for England. It was thus that the Duke of *Buckingham*, who had far more Ambition than Ability, was shamefully driven out of the Isle of *Ré*, after he had three Months besieg'd a Fort, which before a well-commanded Army would not have held out eight days. He by this means ruin'd the Affairs of the *Rebellers*, a great part of whose Provisions he consum'd, without supplying them again, which constrain'd them to surrender the Year following.

After this Victory, the Blockade of *Rochele*, daily continued on the Land-side, and the Court thought to reduce this City the Campaign ensuing; for this they not only block'd it up more straitly than before, but as the English were chiefly to be fear'd, because they had no Fleet to make head against theirs, all ways were sought to appease them. The King began to send back the English Prisoners of War without Ransom, who had been taken in the Isle of *Ré*, he having first given Orders for their good Usage. Present was made that they were treated so well, in favour of the Queen of England; and the King wrote to her by *de Meaux*, whom he sent to London, as to reconduct the Prisoners. He had Orders at the same time to address himself to the Ambassadors of Denmark, who had already offer'd themselves to be Mediators between the Two Crowns, and to see if by any Treaty an Accommodation might be made. The English Prisoners being arriv'd at London, publish'd the most obliging manner they had been treated by the French; and *de Meaux* executed his Commission, the Prisoners favouring him in all they could possible.

1627.

*Aubrey's*  
Life of the  
Card. Lib. 2.  
a. 15.

The Deputies of *Rochelle*, who were at *London* to solicit for a new Supply, having got wind of this Negotiation\*, presented a Memorial to the King; in which; after Thanks given for the Succours he had sent the Summer past, they shew'd him, That the Peace which was spoken of, might perhaps be only a Snare laid for his Majesty, to withdraw him from the Interest of the *Rochellers*, that they might more easily be destroy'd: That if a Treaty were entred into, it would cause a delay to the Preparations which were making for their Relief; and the least stop to that, would be pernicious to them: That the very Report of a Peace, would cause those of the Reformed Religion in *France*, who had design'd to take Arms for the Preservation of *Rochelle*, to stay at home; and would entirely disperse the Army of the Duke of *Roban*: That in the mean time, those who block'd up *Rochelle*, would have time convenient to build up the Forts which they had begun about the City: That they had likewise undertaken to dam up the Port of *Rochelle*, by a Fence, which would so embarrass its entrance, that it would render it almost unpassable; and thereby no Provisions being to be got into the Town, it would be reduced to extremity, because it had consumed the best part of what it had, to provide for his Majesty's Fleet: That the Opportunity of Relieving it being past, all the Strength of *Europe* would not be able to deliver it: That if the Treaty should after happen to be broken, his Majesty would be exposed to the Railleries of his Enemies, and the City be forced to submit to the Yoak of a provoked and Victorious Master. They concluded, beseeching the King, That whatever Propositions should be made, the Preparations should be carried on with all diligence; and above all a Convoy of Men and Victuals, which were presently to be sent to *Rochelle*, which by the Care of the Admiral the Duke of *Buckingham*, was almost ready. The King of *England* slighted not the Advice of the *Rochellers*; but being far from seriously designing to conserve *Calvinism* in *France*, he had a design in his Head to give more liberty to the Catholicks in *England*, he made not the haste as he might have done, although he was press'd by the Duke of *Buckingham*, piqued at the Affront which he had so lately receiv'd at  
the

the Isle of *Rbée*. Also the Parliament which was assembled some Months after, discover'd great discontents at the designs of the Court.

In the mean time the King and the Cardinal stay'd before *Rochelle*, and caused new Forts to be made to block it up the closer. The Cardinal, as well as the other Generals, took upon them a certain extent of Lines of Circumvallation to guard, and there made a Fort, which was called *Fort Richlieu*.

The Duke of *Orleans* left the Army to go to *Paris* \* on the fifteenth of *November*. After Madam was dead, the Queen-Mother, who feared the King would never have Children, had thoughts, as I have said, † to remarry him, and to find some Princess for him, which might depend of her, and might preserve her Authority, in case the Duke of *Orleans*, by the death of *Lewis XIII.* came to be King. The Duke of *Florence* had two Daughters, of which either would have fitted the Queen-Mother: But *Margaret*, who was the eldest, was already affianced to *Edward Duke of Parma*; and *Ann* was too young, and besides so ugly, that when they propos'd her to Monsieur, he declared he would have none of her. He would have taken *Margaret*, who was beautiful, and of an Age fit for Marriage, if the Duke of *Parma* would have given place to it. The Queen-Mother passionately desired it, and managed things so as the Duke of *Parma's* Marriage was put off for a time, to see if they could get him to be contented with *Ann* instead of *Margaret*, which the Grand Duke would have given to Monsieur. But all that she could do could not prevail with the Duke of *Parma* to forego *Margaret*, nor the Duke of *Orleans* to espouse *Ann*; which was a great grief to a Mother ambitious and fearful to extremity. She dreaded the Life of the King, who much tired himself with hunting, without any regard of heat or cold, and who was of no good Complexion, being too dry and too lean. Moreover that Princess, bewitched with judiciary Astrology, had heard *Fabroni*, Steward to Madam decess'd, say, that the King should live thirty Years, and that in his eight and twentieth he should be in great danger. This made her desire to see *Gaston* soon married, and that to a Princess who would have a respect for her; and she desired it

1.627.

Mem. de  
Bassomp. T. 2.  
p. 439.  
† Ibid p. 409.  
Siri Mem. Rec.  
T. 6. p. 265.



1627. it the more passionately, \* because this Prince being debauch'd, made no scruple to go every night to infamous places, and had sometime got foul Discales, which might in time wholly ruin his Health. And when the King, who abstained from that Vice, reprehended him, *Gaston* would answer, That if they would have him abstain, they must marry him.

\* *Ibid.* p. 267. Also the Queen-Mother endeavour'd it always, but could not hit it, \* because neither the King, the Queen, nor the Cardinal, in earnest favour'd the Design, though they made semblance of the contrary. The old Jealousies of the King to his Brother, made him desire he should not suddenly marry; and the Party of *Florence* which would have encreased the Queen-Mother's Authority, pleased him not at all. The Queen, whom *Mary* kept as much down as she could, already groaned too much under her Authority to desire an Augmentation. The Cardinal himself, though that Princess's Creature, would have been troubled to see Monsieur married, and to have had many Children; because the more considerable that Prince should be, the more would the Minister, who never was one of his Friends, lose his Authority: Besides, this Prelate, who began to govern all things independent from the Queen-Mother, and who could not patiently suffer any contradiction, was already vexed at the Respects which he was obliged to pay her.

There was then at the Court of *France*, a young Princess, seventeen Years of Age, Daughter to the Duke of *Nevers*, but of such Health as promised not much fruitfulness; and besides, that the Queen-Mother loved not this branch of the House of *Gonzaga*, allied to the Princes of the Blood, and who had always been of a Party adverse to her. Her Kindred dealt so, that Monsieur saw her often, and falling in love with her, he said sometimes, that he would not marry; and at other times, that he would never marry any other Princess but *Mary de Gonzaga*. This extremely perplexed the Queen-Mother, and created \* so many Intrigues in this Affair, that the Duke of *Parma* would not resign *Margaret de Medicis* to Monsieur, and that the Duke of *Anjou* refused absolutely to marry her younger Sister, maugre all the instances of *Mary*; and

\* See them in  
*Siri*, T. 6. p.  
263, &c.

and that she was absolutely dissatisfied at his espousal of *Mademoiselle de Nevers*, I will not detain you with the Particularities of these Affairs, because they do not directly relate to the Life of the Cardinal; but what I shall now set down, will, in the sequel, be necessary, as you will see by the History of the succeeding Years.

The Duke of *Vendôme*, who was put in the *Bois de Vincennes*, as I have told you, protested always his Innocence in relation to the Designs against the King, which were laid to his charge; but he could not deny\*, at least, that he had enterprized against the Authority of the Minister; so that he was to demand pardon of the King, and to renounce the Government of *Bretagne*. Thereupon the King dispatched him his Letters of Abolition, and pardoned his Life, but refused him his Liberty, though he permitted his Friends to see him at the *Bois de Vincennes*. But for the Grand Prior, who would not do the like, he had not the like Favour, and no Person was admitted to see him.

In the interim, the Count of *Soissons*, as you have seen, was departed the Kingdom, and ceased not to feel at that distance the anger of the Cardinal. The \* Countess of *Soissons* sharply complained to Father *Berule*, that they had affirm'd, that there were Letters from her Son, in which he had advised Monsieur to retreat to *Rochele*, and she begged to see those Letters. Father *Berule* speaking to the Cardinal, related this for answer to the Countess, That the Ministers of the King were not obliged to justify what they had said, because they might have spoken it for the good of the State, and that the King knew the Truth of all. However he denied that he had spoken of any such Letters; although the Countess maintained, that she heard it from a Person of the greatest Quality. She also said, That the Cardinal had told, that a Gentleman of the Counts Retinue, had staid some time at *St. Germain*, by order of his Master, to murder him. The Count and the Gentleman both vented themselves against this Calumny. But the Cardinal denied he had said it, although he confessed that he might perhaps have declared to some or other his Suspicion of such

\* In *Moy Siri*  
T. 6. p. 217.  
252.

\* *Siri*, *ibid.*  
p. 210.

1627. such a matter. It surpris'd him that he had so strongly alarm'd the King as to grant him Guards.

\* *Siri*, *ibid.*  
p. 303.

The Count having designed to see *Italy*, the Cardinal had taken care to recommend him thither, as he thought best for his purpose. \* He writ to the Count *de Bethunes*, to entertain him seldom, thinking that the other Ambassadors would follow the Example of the *French*, and so he would be coldly received by all he should visit. But the Count *de Bethunes*, who concern'd not himself with the Ministers Passion, and who believ'd it consist'd not with the King's Honour, to cause a Prince of his Blood to be ill treated out of his States, received him into his House, although he would not have the Complaisance to sit below him at the Table, as that Prince had desired. The Cardinal was exceedingly provoked, that the Count *de Bethunes* had not observ'd his Orders; for he could not endure to be depend'd on by halves; and he was so tenacious to his own Opinions, that to contradict him, was to disoblige him: So that *Bethunes* had much ado to appease him, representing to him many strong Reasons he had to treat the Count of *Soissons* after that manner.

\* *Siri ibid.* p.  
212, &c.

The Abbot *Scaglia* also, \* at the same time, felt the effects of the Cardinal's displeasure; who had provoked him, by talking too hotly against the Treaty of *Monzon*. This witty Prelate, being willing to have him recalled, accus'd him to have been of the Cabal with *Chalais*, and to have treated with the grand Prior, and offer'd on the behalf of the Duke of *Savoy*, a considerable assistance of Forces. The Abbot absolutely denied it, and endeavour'd to justify himself in several Conferences which he had with the Cardinal, and with the other Ministers: But as this was not his Transaction, he was told, That he should himself beg his Master to recall him; and that in such a case, they would give him Testimonials as he pleas'd, of his Innocence; and, in fine, he was oblig'd to accept of the Ambassage into *Flanders*: After which the Cardinal did him all manner of Civilities.

The Crowns, who had concern'd themselves in being willing to accommodate the Differences between the *Genoueses* and the Duke of *Savoy*, could meddle nothing therein

therein as to the suspension of Arms, which was agreed on the Year preceding; but they made a League between them \* against *England*, and *Spain* promised to send a Fleet of fifty Ships on the Ocean, to attack *England* and *Ireland* at the same time; as the *French* also obliged themselves to make a Descent with twenty five on the Isle of *Wight*, as soon as the *Spaniards* should be come into the Channel. The *French*, in appearance, laid no great stress on the Promises of the *Spaniards*, because they made little preparations for this pretended descent, which seemed as easie in the Projection, as it was difficult in the Execution. And the *Spaniards* suspected on their side, that the *French* had no other design, than to fright the *English* to an accommodation, and so the Fleet which they had promised, never appear'd; and so the Duke of *Buckingham* had opportunity to make the Descent on the Isle of *Rhee*, of which I have spoken.

1627.

\* Ratified at  
Paris the  
20th of Apr

This same Year, \* the death of *Vincent*, Duke of *Mantua*, was the occasion of a Broil between the two Crowns, and, in effect, the cause of a Rupture which after happened. The King of *France* had received Advice before, that *Vincent* was visited with a Sickness, which would not permit him to live long, and had prevailed with this Prince, that the Duke of *Retzel*, eldest Son of the Duke of *Nevers*, should go to *Mantua*, to reside there. The Estates of *Mantua* and *Montferrat*, after the death of *Vincent*, were to belong to the Duke of *Nevers*, who had no Children. But as *Mantua* was an Imperial Feif, and Neighbour to the *Milanese*, the *Spaniards* favoured *Cesar de Gonzaga*, Duke of *Guastalla*, and had prevailed with the Emperour to give him the Investiture of that Dutchy. The Count of *Strigio*, in whom *Vincent* placed a great confidence, and who was *French* by Inclination, had induced that Prince, not only to receive the Duke of *Retzel*, but also to prevent all disturbances, to grant him *Mary de Mantua* his Niece; who for want of Heirs Male might pretend to the Inheritance of *Montferrat*. The King thereupon sent the Marquis de *St. Chamond* to the Duke of *Savoy*, to inform himself of the Rights which he might have in *Montferrat*, to endeavour to give him some satisfaction, lest he should

\* The Night  
between the  
25th & 26th  
of December.  
Siri T. 6. p.  
302, &c.



1627.

enterprife any thing on that Estate: He gave not opportunity to the *Spaniards* and the Emperour to seize it, under pretext of the Rights of the Duke *de Guastalla*, in a time when *France*, busied with the Siege of *Rochele*, would not be in estate to relieve it.

St. *Chamond* also had Orders to go to *Mantua*; and as soon as he came to *Caxal*, he heard that Duke *Vincent* was grown worse. Enttring into *Mantua*, he found that *Strigio* had done all that could be desired of him, to procure the Succession to fall into the Hands of the Duke of *Nevers*. Duke *Vincent* following his Counsel, had declared by Letters Patents, and by his Will, the Duke of *Rethel* General of his Troops; and the *Mantuans*, through his Hands, were to take an Oath of Fidelity to the Duke of *Nevers*. At the same time it was discover'd that the Duke *de Guastalla* had some design upon the City, and five *Petards* were found in his House, which were seized with some of his Domesticks, who were put in Prison. They wrote presently to the Emperour, that they might be qualified, to refuse to acknowledge the Duke, in case he should make use of his Commission of Vicar of the Empire. The Duke of *Rethel* also dispatched a Courier to *France* to his Father the Duke of *Nevers*, to pray him to come away incessantly, if he intended to take possession of his Estates.

In the mean time the eldest Son of the Duke *de Guastalla*, requested at *Milan* assistance from the *Spaniards*, after he had shew'd to the Governour and the Senate the Investiture which the Emperour had granted him: They promised to assist him, and presently dispatched *John Serbellon* to *Mantua*, to maintain his Interest. In stead of admitting him forthwith into the City, they shut the Gates for a whole Day against him, before they would hear any thing he had to propose, under pretext that they would receive him with greater Ceremony. He could not enter till the 24th of *December*, when the Duke of *Rethel* had nothing left undone, but to take the Oaths of the *Mantuans*, and to marry the Princess *Mary*. Also the night following they brought that Princess out of the Convent where she was, to the Palace, to espouse the Prince of *Rethel*, and consummate the Marriage with him. Some say, that *Vincent* before he died, having  
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received the Pope's Dispensation, had ordered his Niece to be immediately married to the Duke of *Rethel*; but others say, he was dead before it was done, but it was kept secret for some Days.

On the morrow morning the Prince of *Rethel*, who then assumed the Title of Prince of *Mantua*, sent *Strigio* to Count *Serbellon*, to pay him Respects on his behalf, and to tell him, that the Prince of *Mantua*, and the Princess his Wife, expected him to condole with them for the death of Prince *Vincent*. No sooner did *Serbellon* hear *Strigio* talk after this manner, but he went out of his Lodging in the Palace, and retired into an Inn. But the Duke of *Rethel* sent to visit him in that Inn, and entreated him to return to the Palace. *Serbellon* answer'd, That his Commission was to treat with Duke *Vincent*; That he had no business with the Duke of *Rethel*; and that he was surpriz'd they durst nominate a Successor to the Dutchy of *Mantua*, without knowledge of the Emperor, on whom that Feif depended; That it was a very bold Action for the Duke of *Rethel* to dare to marry a Niece of the King of *Spain*, and grand Niece to the Emperour, without his consent. It was answer'd him, That the Prince of *Mantua* valued not his Approbation; That he depended on none but God; and that he would live under no Protection, but of the most Christian King. *Serbellon* instantly retir'd to *Milan*; and the Bishop of *Mondovi*, Ambassador of *Savoy*, went away at the same time without taking leave. Thus did *Mantua* and *Montferrat* change Masters, without any violence. But it was not so easie for the Duke of *Nevers*, to keep them, as it was to get them in to their Possession.

Whilst these things passed in *Italy*, the Cardinal daily labour'd more to block up the *Rochellers*; and as it was but in vain to close them up from Communication with the Neighbourhood at Land, whilst their Haven was open, he sought also ways to shut up that. *Pompey Targon*, an *Italian* Enginier, had assayed divers ways to stop up the Entrance; but the Storms, or Tides only, had carried away all that he had plac'd. At last the Cardinal propos'd to make a Ditch of Stone, and in the middle of it leave a Passage for the Tide. They begun this

1628. Work at one side of the Gulf, which made the Harbour of *Rochelle* of seven hundred and forty Fathom breadth, where the Cannon of *Rochelle* could not reach: To frame this Fence, they drove into the Sea great Piles, from ten to twelve Feet, and traversed them with others, and put Stones into them, which had no other cement than what the Surges of the Sea cast in. They also sunk several Vessels loaden with Stones to support them. It was at the bottom twelve Fathom wide, and went sloping towards the top, where it was but four. Its height was above the highest Tides; so that the Soldiers they put upon it to guard it were always dry: There were also many Ships to defend it within and without, and Artillery on both the Banks.

The besieged believed that this Work would never be ended, because the Sea many times took away all that they had placed; and it is true, that had they had Victuals for some Weeks more, or had the *English* but done their best, the Wind, or the shock of some Vessels, would have overthrown this Fence, of which the Cardinal so much boasted, and for which he had been laughed at, if the *Rochellers* could have held out any longer.

Whilst they worked at the Fence D. *Frederick de Toledo* arriv'd with the *Spanish* Fleet, which was but ill equipped, besides a Storm had much endamag'd it. The Marquis de *Leganéz* and de *Spinola* came thither also; and the King order'd all the Works to be shewn to this last; some of which, concerning whom the King asked his Advice, he disliked. He said, amongst other things, That there were but two ways to take *Rochelle*; which was, to close the Haven, or to open the Purse. The Cardinal honoured him very much, and, because of his Age, called him Father. When he came into *Spain*, far from approving the management of the Count-Duke, who had caused the Fleet to be sent to assist the King of *France* to take *Rochelle*, \* he countell'd the King of *Spain* to assist the *Rochellers*; and always when Discourse happened with him upon any design, he fell back upon this; he judged that *Spain* sinned against the chief Principles of good Policy, in aiding the King of *France* to render himself absolute Master of his Estates: And this

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\* See *Siri*, T.  
6. p. 358.

Conduct was by so much the more ridiculous, since 1628. the *French* had just then concluded a League with the States of the United Provinces, to help to maintain them against the *Spaniards*. The Cardinal was happy, that during his Administration *Spain* was governed by the Count *d'Olivarez*, who was of no extraordinary Qualities; and the Faults of that *Spaniard* gave a great deal of Lustre to his Conduct.

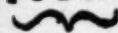
The Fleet of *Spain*, joyned to that of *France*, made up the number of an hundred Vessels, small and great; and this caused that the *English* durst not send a Convoy of Victuals, Wood and Coals, which was ready. The small quantity of Money which the King of *England* had, and his ill understanding with his Parliament, occasioned the delay of this Convoy. In the mean time the great *French* and *Spanish* Vessels anchored in the Road of the Isle of *Rhee*, and the little ones were employ'd to guard the Fence.

This Work was not very much advanced, when the King, weary with being seven Months together at the Camp, and being called back to *Paris* by some important Affairs, he resolved to go thither, without staying for the end of the Siege, which yet was not near. \* The day before his Departure, he gave a Commission to the Cardinal, by which he made him Lieutenant-General of his Armies in *Poitou*, in *Saintonge*, of *Angoumois*, and of *Aunis*, with full power over all his Troops, Horse and Foot, *French* and *Foreigners*. He also expressly enjoyned the Duke of *Angouleme*, the Marechals *Bassompierre* and *Schomberg*, Lieutenants-General, and all the other Officers of the Army to obey the Cardinal, as they ought to do the King when personally present.

This Commission, which gave the Conduct of an Army to a Bishop, who understood nothing of War, and who every moment complained of want of Health, to undergo the trouble of the Affairs of State, much surpriz'd those who knew not at all the necessity there was of the first Ministers being present at the Siege. The Cardinal, who was of as active and penetrating a Soul, as lofty and proud, was very capable of receiving the good Advices of the Generals, though he had little Experience in War; and he so strangely loved to command, that he



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\* Aubrey's  
Life of the  
Card. Lib. 2.  
c. 17.

would do any Business besides his own without difficulty, provided he might have the Superintendency: Besides, it was important he should be at this Siege, that the Works might be pressed forward with all Expedition; whereas if he had been absent, either Money necessary had been wanting, or perhaps the unfaithfulness of some of the Commanders might have hindered the Enterprize: So that the choice which the King made of his Minister to command at the Siege of *Rochelle*, was founded on very good Reasons, though it was thought unfit for a Bishop to be General of an Army. \* We are assured, that on the Day of the King's Departure, after he had receiv'd the Adieu's of all the World, he rode aside to a person of Quality who came to receive his Orders; and having leaned on him for a good while without speaking, at last said to him, *My Heart is so heavy I am not able to speak, for the Grief oppresses me, that I must leave Monsieur the Cardinal, and the fear lest some evil accident should befall him. Tell him, in my behalf, that if he would have me believe he loves me, he must have a care of his Person, and not go incessantly, as he daily doth, into dangerous places: Let him consider in what Estate my Affairs would be should I lose him. I know how many Persons busie themselves to hinder him from discharging himself of so weighty an Affair; but I so highly value this his Service, that I shall never forget it.* In effect, the King had not strength enough of Spirit to govern alone, and he had already done so many Acts of Injustice in favour of the Cardinal, that the number of Malecontents was too great, and he could not live without him.

The King being gone, no ceasing was made in all the Works, as much as the Season and the Sallies of the besieged would permit, and they at last so well finished the Lines of Circumvallation, that the Forts were all in a State of defence, and had mutual Communication: But the Fence or Dam advanced more slowly, because of the great Labour and bad Season, which often hindered their working.

The Cardinal saw the Siege would take up a long time, and had reason to fear that the Army would be too much wasted by the carelessness and cheats of the *C. pains*, and that the vast Charge would at last force them

them to give over the Enterprize, and the Soldiers, by being ill paid, and constrained to suffer too great Fatigues, would quite desert it, as hath happened in other Sieges. To remedy these inconveniences he gave Orders, that the Troops should be muster'd every eight Days, and gave a Commissary to every Regiment, who was to pay the Soldiers himself; who was also to take care that there were no Led-Horses. Thus the Cardinal knew every Week the number, and paid only those who were actually in the Camp: Whereas before there were a great number of Led-Horses, and more people were paid for than were effectively there. He also gave Cloaths to the Soldiers, that they might the better endure the Cold of the Winter and Spring, and so ordered, that Victuals always abounded in the Camp; and the Neighbouring Country people were never abused by the Soldiers.

A little time after the King's departure, the Cardinal caused the *Rochellers* to be summoned to surrender, and regain his Majesty's Clemency; but they would not hear the Herald. The Cardinal had some days after some slight hopes to have taken the City by Surprize.

\* His design was to petard the false Port of *Salines*, the *New Gate*, and that of *St. Nicholas*, and to scale the Bastions of the *Gabut*, and of the *Gospell*, to endeavour to break the Chain, and surprize the Fort of *Tadon*, whilst some false Alarms were given in other places. For this he chose the night of the 11th of *March*, and approached within six hundred Paces of the City, with about eight thousand Horse and Foot, and the *Mareschals de Bassompierre*, and *de Schomberg*. \* They sent those who carried the Petards several ways, and five hundred Men with *Marillac*, who was to support the first. But the Night was so dark, that one could not find the other; so that Day approaching they were forced to return without doing any thing.

The Cardinal made another \* Enterprize on the Fort of *Tadon* two Days after, where *Marillac* commanded those who advanced first, to repair the Fault which he had made two Nights before. They caused a false Alarm to be given to the *Corps de Guard*, of the Fort *Tenaille*, and the Gate of the two Mills; and they sent a

1628.

\* *Aubery's*  
Life of the  
Cardinal, lib. 2  
c. 17.

\* *Mem. de*  
*Bassomp. T. 2.*  
p. 469.

\* *Aubery, ib.*  
*Bassomp. ibid.*  
p. 470.

1628. Man to those who were on the Guard at the Port of *St. Nicholas*, to tell them, as if he had come from the Fort of *Tadon*, by order of him who commanded there, that they should not fire at all whatever noise they heard, because they had a Counter-design to execute against the Besiegers, who came to them along by the Sea side, and if they should shoot at the first noise, it might be at the people of the Fort. *Marillac* passing a little while after, those of the Port of *St. Nicholas* fir'd not, but they gave the Alarm in the City, that they might be ready on occasion. As soon as *Marillac* was near the Fort, the Sentinel perceived some to advance; and having discharged his Musquet, by the light thereof he saw the Troops which march'd against him, he presently gave the Alarm, and *Pontleirin* a Gentleman of *Saintonge*, who commanded in the Fort, with five Companies of *French* and one of *English*, made his Men stand to their Arms, so that there was no appearance of forcing them. Thereupon *Marillac*, instead of saying, *To the Right*, cryed, *Turn*, to make his Men retreat, which caused a great confusion, and thirty or forty Men to be killed and wounded.

In the mean time they begun to want many things in *Rochelle*, and were forc'd to open the Magazines of Corn and salt Meats to private Persons, and distribute those Provisions which were in no good condition, with extraordinary Ceremony. *John Guiton*, Mayor of the City, a Man of Experience and Conduct, took care to make them spare them as much as possible, until the Succours of the *English* which they impatiently waited for, should come. He also gave Orders for the defence of the City with great Prudence and Constancy. But he could not hinder many Soldiers, (who could not accommodate themselves to the Sobriety prescribed them) from going over to the Enemy, and carrying them News of the bad condition of the place. They received many of them at the beginning, but they refus'd those which continued to desert, for fear of easing the *Rochellers* of unprofitable Mouths. The Cardinal would not permit that the Mother of the Duke of *Roban*, nor her Daughter-in-Law should come out of *Rochelle*, for fear lest they should cabal for that Duke, who then made War in *Languedoc*, and created a great deal of trouble to the

the Prince of *Conde*, the Duke of *Montmorency*, and others, who commanded for the King in that Province.

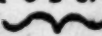
The *Rochellers* had waited with impatience for the Tide of full Moon of the Equinoctial of *March*, which is commonly the greatest; but it had no great effect, overthrowing only some Fathoms at the end of the Fence, which were quickly repaired. \* There came nevertheless some Barks, which brought them a little Corn, and news of the Succours from *England*, which were suddenly to depart: The Cardinal was also advertis'd of it, and he had the more reason to fear, because the *Spanish* Fleet was gone, and he had not forty Vessels to make good the Entrance against the *English*. But the Fence, for the securing of which they had already sunk three-score and two mur'd Vessels, was in a State of defence; and it was hoped, that the Fleet ranged in *Battalia* at the Entrance of the Gulf, and supported by a quantity of great Guns, which were placed on the Sea-shores on both sides, would be able to resist a greater number of Ships.

\* *Siri Mem.*  
*Rec. T. 6. p.*  
*360.*  
*Buff. T. 2.*  
*p. 471.*

In this Conjunction the Cardinal thought it convenient, that the King should return to the Camp, to be present when the *English* Succours appear'd, that the Soldiers might be the more encouraged. The King came thither on the 24th of *April*, and gave the Orders necessary for the maintenance of the Fence against the *English*. \* A little after, Father *Joseph*, who was also become a Man of War, was advertised by a *Rocheller*, but one who understood such Matters no better than himself, that one might pass into *Rochelle* by a Common-shore, whereby the Ordure of the City was discharged. He designed to cause some Men to enter that way; and having got the Cardinal to approve the Design, the Cardinal told the King of it, and all things were prepared to put it in execution. They made, I know not what kind of Machine, which they pretended to make use of on this occasion; but they were first to discover the Passage. They made it in an obscure Night, and having sounded

\* In May  
See *Bassomp.*  
*Mem. T. 2.*  
*p. 477.* and  
*Panis Mem.*  
*T. 1. p. 283.*



1628.  founded the Place with a long Pole, they found it of so great depth, that the Design was judg'd impracticable by those who knew the Place; and for all Father *Joseph's* Anger, who would have had them proceed, that Project vanish'd.

\* May 11.  
B. *Assomp.* T. 6.  
P. 476.

A few days after \*, the *English* Fleet appear'd; it was compos'd of about Fifty Great Ships of War, and Forty Victuallers. That of *France*, which was made up of smaller Vessels, and Commanded by the Commander of *Valença*, ranged it self in the Channel between the two Points, and the Stoccado of sunk-Vessels was furnish'd with a Regiment on each side. They caus'd Thirty six Galleots to enter between the Fence and the City; and on each of them were put Twenty Men more than ordinary, to oppose the Sallies of the *Rochellers*. As soon as they saw the *English* Fleet compos'd of Great Vessels, they judg'd its Enterprize would be vain, because there was not Water enough at the mouth of the Channel, to suffer Vessels of that bigness to come in.

About seven of the Clock in the Evening, they drew near, to ride at the head of the Bay, where there was a Battery guarded by the Marechal *Bassompierre*. To hinder their stopping there, the Marechal made about fifty Cannon-shot at them, which made them take more room, and Anchor towards the *Portuis* of *Antioch*.

\* May 18.  
B. *Assomp.* ibid.  
P. 482.

The Storm, which was violent for some days, hindred the *English* from attempting any thing; but, in fine, \* eight days after their arrival, their Men of War advanced within Cannon-shot of the *French* Fleet, upon whom they discharged all their Artillery, and afterwards retreated with all their Fleet, without any thing done. There was but one of their Shallops, which being in the night mixed amongst those of the *French*, got into *Rochelle*. This retreat of the *English*, without attempting any thing, enraged extreamly the *Rochellers* against the Earl of *Denbigh*, who Commanded them, although they promis'd suddenly to send them a more powerful Assistance.

stance. The *English* might easily have foreseen, that they would have had occasion for light Vessels, and should at least have framed some Project before they departed; whereas from their arrival it appear'd, that they knew neither the state of the Fence, nor what they were to undertake. This was a Misfortune entail'd on the Reign of King *Charles I.* That he hardly ever undertook a reasonable Enterprize, or had success in any thing he projected: Besides, that Prince could never persuade his People, that he had any advantageous Designs for the Honour and Liberty of the *English* Nation.

The Cardinal thus happily deliver'd from the force of the *English*, who were return'd home \*, wrote a Letter to the *Rochellers*, by which he exhorted them to submit. But they made no answer, in hope of new Relief from *England*; or that the Autumn by ruining the Fence, would deliver them from the Siege. They were nevertheless \* six Weeks after oblig'd to write to him about one of their Townsmen, who was arrested in *Normandy*, and had his Process made. The Cardinal answer'd them the next day, and took the Opportunity to persuade them to surrender; but they remain'd unalterable. In the mean time, the Heat of the Summer had brought the Bloody Flux into the Army, with malignant Fevers, which oblig'd the Cardinal to change his Quarters, and much diminish'd the Courage of the Soldiers.

The same day as the Cardinal wrote to those of *Rochelle*, the Duke of *Buckingham* was kill'd at *Portsmouth*, by a stab of a Knife from a *Scots-man*, nam'd *Felton*, just as he was going on board the Fleet, which was design'd for the Relief of *Rochelle*. This Man being taken, was so far from repenting of his Crime, that he said, That he had kill'd an Enemy to the State, and done great Service to his Country. That which occasion'd his talking thus, was, That the Parliament, who durst not accuse the King of a great many things which had been done, as they said, contrary to the Laws in *England* and *Scotland*, had accused his Favourite, and would have him brought to Trial; which the King would not admit of.

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\* July 8.  
Aubrey's  
Life of the  
Card. Lib. 2.  
c. 18.

\* Aug. 22.

1628. Be it as it will, this Lord being dead, the King told *Soubise*, and the Deputies of *Rochelle*, that this Accident should not retard the Relief he intended for them.

\* *Aubery's*  
Life of the  
Cardinal, l. 2.  
c. 19.

The news of this Death being come to *Rochelle*, the Cardinal thought it a fit time to induce the *Rochellers* to surrender; and he caus'd \* some Propositions to be made to them, by *Arnaud*, who went into *Rochelle* on pretence of the exchange of his Brother-in-Law the Marquis of *Feuquieres*, who had for some Months been Prisoner at War. A good part of those of the Government did not ill receive these Propositions; and Persons were deputed by the Cardinal, who having heard from his mouth what he propos'd, were to report it to others. But they would not accept it, were it for fear he would be worse than his Word, or that the Demands which he made, were too disadvantageous; so that they resolv'd to wait for the new *English* Succour.

\* *Siri Mem.*  
Rec. T. 6. p.  
442.

In the mean time, they were reduced to the utmost extremity, and a great number liv'd upon nothing but Cockles and Roots, which it was difficult to find. \* Many of the Magistrates were resolv'd to capitulate; but that being, as it were, to submit to the Discretion of the Cardinal, who when he was once got into *Rochelle*, would have kept the Articles according to his Pleasure, the greatest part of the People, animated by the Mayor, oppos'd this Design. The contrary Party, to gain the People by Pity, took a Resolution to put all the unprofitable mouths out of the Town; thinking that the People, touch'd with so sad a Separation, would resolve to surrender. One night they caus'd to be assembled a great number of Women, Children, and old Men, and put them out of the Gates, without regard to their Lamentations. These miserable People in the morning went to the Besiegers Lines; but they drove them away with Musquet-shot, that they were forced to stay in some Meadows between the Lines and the City, where they lived on Herbs. The King and the Cardinal, far from pitying them, caus'd to fire upon them, to obliged the

Be-

Besieged to take them in again, as they did. They caused also all the Grasse thereabouts to be cut down, that they might come and snatch it away in the night for their Nourishment. 1628.

The King sent them word, That if they staid to the utmost extremity before they yielded, he would give them no quarter. They offer'd to do it, if they might conserve their Privileges; but it was pretended they were forfeited, and that they must entirely depend on the good Pleasure of the King.

The Cardinal \* nevertheless afterward consented to grant them their Goods and Lives, and some little Privileges concerning the Magistrates; on condition, that after they had begg'd the King's Pardon, they should receive him into the City, and pay four Musters which were due to the Army. The *Rochellers* proposed, on their side, that they would beg pardon with Ropes about their Necks, provided they might have their Privileges in relation to the Religion and the Magistracy, without speaking any more about the demolition of *Fort-Louis*, or those in the Isles of *Rhée* and *Oleron*. They also demanded the King's Pardon for *Rohan* and *Soubise*, as well as the Cities of *Languedoc*; and that Peace also should be made with *England*. The Cardinal replied, That the King would absolutely punish *Rohan* and *Soubise*: That for the Cities of *Languedoc*, they should be treated with such Mildness as they deserv'd, without the *Rochellers* needing to concern themselves in the matter: That as to *England*, it was not for them to prescribe to the King what he had to do: And, That it was enough for them, that they were not punish'd according to their Deserts, for having drawn *France* into War on that side. \* *U.S. p. 418.*

The Deputies, to whom the Cardinal had made these Propositions, being entred into *Rochelle*, it was matter of surprize to find, that instead of an Answer, they heard the Guns of the Besieged to play as before. They also attempted to set fire on the Gallies which were between the Channel and the Fence; but not succeeding, they sent



1628. sent a Drum to demand permission to send back their Deputies to the King; they were answer'd, That after their late Insolence, they should be receiv'd only at discretion. But after they had made them this Answer, it was resolv'd to renew the Treary, in case they had a-new demanded leave to send their Deputies.

\* Bessomp.  
Mem. T. 2.  
p. 500.

In fine, the *English* Succours, Commanded by the Earl of *Lindsey*, appear'd in \* sight of the Isle of *Rhée*, the 28th. of *September*, consisting of Seventy Vessels, which were follow'd by Thirty more the day ensuing. All the Army of *France*, which was Twenty thousand Foot, and Three thousand Horse, was many days in Arms to repulse the *English*, in case they should land to render themselves Masters of the Fence. It was then wholly finish'd, and there was only fifty geometrical Paces left open for the course of the Tide; and this Overture was so embarrass'd with Vessels sunk full of Stones, that it was of difficult entrance. Nevertheless, it was believ'd, that if the *English* would have hazarded some Vessels, to knock with the Tide against the Fence, they might have overthrown a great part of it.

The disposition of the *French* Army was the same as in the former Attack, the Fleet being at the mouth of the Channel, and the Land-Army rang'd on both sides the Gulf and the Fence: There were also two Batteries more; the one at the head of the Bay, of Forty Pieces of Cannon; the other at *Coreille*, of Twenty five. The *English* contented themselves the first five days to coast about the Sea-shoars, to look on the *French* Army, and to fire some Cannon without effect. They endeavour'd in vain to burn the *French* Fleet, by sending in some Fire-ships with the Tide. But in the morning of the 3d. of *October*, the *English* Fleet stood right into the Channel; and the Vanguard, in which was *Soubise*, and a great number of *Rochelliers*, after they had made several Boards to gain the Wind, advanced towards the *French* Fleet within Cannon-shot: Every Ship discharged both Sides; after which, it retir'd. The main Battel and the Rear-guard did the same; and all the Fleet return'd three times

times to the Charge, in the same order, whilst the Tide lasted. The *French* answer'd them in the same manner with all their Artillery, as well from the Batteries as the Fleet. The *Rochellers* fired on their side, on the Galleots and on the Land-Forces; but it was so far off, that it did no execution.

The Sea retiring about ten of the Clock, the *English* went back also, and did nothing all the day, but sending in (to no purpose) Fire-works and Fire-ships against the *French* Ships. The Artillery from the Land did them much damage, and they lost about Two hundred Men, and some Shallops, whereas the *French* lost not a Boat, and but Thirty seven Men. The *English* did the same thing on the morrow; nor was the issue more successful, they not daring to come to Boarding, for fear the *French* Army from Land should assist the Fleet on this occasion; nor durst they go to shake the Fence, where the Overture presented it self. This was really a bold Attempt; but it was ridiculous to undertake to relieve a Place block'd up so near, and reduc'd to extremity, without being willing to hazard any thing. The *English* made a show, as if they would return with the Evening-Tide; but they advanc'd but half the way.

In the mean time, the *Rochellers*, who were on board the *English* Fleet, desired to speak with the *French* Generals: They permitted two to come on shoar in *Bassompierre's* Quarter, who sent them to the Cardinal, of whom they desired permission to go into *Rochelle*, that they might return and tell the *English* the state of the Place. Having nothing more to say than this, The Cardinal sent them back.

After this, the Wind was so contrary to the *English* for some days, that they were oblig'd to remain at Anchor \*. In the mean time, they thought to purpose to try if there were any way of Accommodation; and for this, the Lord *Montague* \* sent to Complement the Cardinal, who found he sought an occasion to enter into a Conference; and therefore sent back four *English* Prisoners

\* *Antony's*  
Life of the  
Cardinal,  
12. c. 19.  
\* *Orisk.* 7.

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ners without Ransom, and charged them to make his Compliments to *Montague*, and tell him, that he should have some good hopes of a Peace between the Two Croy's, if he would confer in secret with him.

The Prisoners being come to the *English* Fleet, and having spoken to *Montague*, he caus'd a Council to be assembled, whither *Soubise* and the *Rochelle* Deputies were call'd. *Montague* said what the Prisoners had reported to him; and added, That he thought it would be advantageous to the Common Cause if he took this Opportunity which the Cardinal offer'd him for to know the Fence, under pretence of going to speak with him; and that taking an Enginier with him, he would not fail to bring back a certain account of it. The Deputies of *Rochelle*, who fear'd that *Montague* only sought means to treat without them, oppos'd this as much as they could: They represented, That as soon as the Fleet perceiv'd that they would enter into a Negotiation, no body would fight: That as to what concern'd the discovery of the Fence by that means, the *French* Generals were too fine to let him know the weak Places: And, That *Montague* and his Enginier, after they had seen the strongest, would come and make a Relation conformable to the Designs of the Enemy, and proper to discourage every body. In the mean time, the *English* Officers, whose Intentions were not very good, although they feigned otherwise, caus'd it to be concluded in the Council, to send a Shallop to the *French* Generals to demand exchange of Prisoners, and a safe Conduct for *Montague* \*. Which accordingly was done: The Prisoners were sent back on each side, on the next day; and the day following \*, *Montague* went to speak with the Cardinal; and returning, he said he had been very well receiv'd, and that the Cardinal had made him Propositions touching the general Repote of Christendom.

\* *Offic.* 12.  
according  
to *Bassomp.*  
*Memo.* T. 2.  
p. 500.  
\* *Offic.* 14.

\* *Offic.* 15.

He went \* the second time with his Enginier; and after he had din'd with the Cardinal, and conferr'd with him, they let him, the next day, in a Galleot, see the Fence, and all that they had put to imbaras the Channel.

nel. Those who sent him might assure themselves of one thing, That if one of the two were to be either cheated or impos'd upon by the other, it would not in the least be the Minister of the King of *France*. So that whether they expected this or not, they were not surprized to see *Montague* come back with his Engenier, and say, That it was impossible to break the Fence: That the Cardinal had made Propositions reasonable enough, touching a Peace with his *Britannick* Majesty, and with the *Rochellers*; and that it was necessary he should go to communicate these Propositions to the King; after which, he would return to the Fleet, which he promis'd to do in fifteen days at the farthest. *Charles*, who assisted *Rochelle* only to avoid discontenting his People, (who earnestly desir'd it) was disposed to find all things reasonable.

In the mean time \*, the Cardinal cunningly caused the *French* on board the *English* Fleet, and who began to be distrustful of the *English*, as well as the *Rochellers*, more press'd by Hunger than by force of Arms, to be advertis'd, That it would be a shame and disadvantage to them, if they should suffer an Agreement to be made for them by a foreign Prince, who consider'd not their Interest so much as his own: That they would make their Conditions much better, if they would implore his Majesty's Clemency; because the King would be sooner inclin'd to favour them by their Submissions, than by the Instances of the King of *England*.

The *Rochellers*, and those who were on board the *English* Fleet, seeing, on the one side, the City reduc'd by Famine to a deplorable estate; and, on the other, the Coldness of the *English* in regard of them, apprehended it was at last time to accommodate themselves at any rate whatsoever \*. Those who were on the Fleet, sent a Drum to demand a safe Conduct for Deputies, which they desir'd to send to the Cardinal. They sent them on the next day, when the *English* Fleet came again to Cannonade the *French*; that is, to make a great noise to no purpose: In the Evening the Deputies of the Fleet landed, and were conducted to *Saussaye*, to speak with the

R

Car-

Antony.

\* *Offic. 22.*  
*Regim. T. 2.*  
*p. 511.*



1628.



Cardinal; whilst six other Deputies appear'd near the Fort de la Fons, and demanded also to Parly. The Cardinal order'd they should be brought to him; and they came a little time after the others.

\* Aubery, ib,

The Cardinal caus'd them to be receiv'd in several Chambers; and the Mareschals de Bassompierre and Schomberg being with him, as well as Bouthillier, he commanded the Deputies of the Fleet to be brought in. They told him \*, That it was not without confusion that they appear'd before him, when they consider'd who they were from whom they came; yet nevertheless they had assum'd that Boldness, because that although they had been with Foreigners, yet their Consciences bore them witness, that their Hearts were *French*; which might appear, in that as soon as they had seen any Overture of an Accommodation, rather than to continue shedding of Blood, they had sought all means to be admitted to his Greatness, and to offer to his Majesty to employ themselves to their Fellow-Citizens, to engage them to return to their Obedience: That they also supplicated the Cardinal, to procure them the Favour of his Majesty; and to assure himself, that those who made this Prayer to him, would act with entire Sincerity in this Affair, and after such a manner as perhaps should not be unprofitable for the King's Service.

The Cardinal answer'd them with sweetness enough; and told them, That he would not then consider their Faults, or those of their Fellow-Citizens: That they were indeed very great, but the Bounty of the King was greater to forget them: That he would make it his business to obtain his Majesty's Pardon, provided they would sincerely return to their Duty. He then ask'd them what assurance they had of the *Rochellers*, which made them hope to reduce them. The Deputies answer'd, That those of the City knew nothing of their Design; but if his Majesty would be pleas'd to permit them to speak with them, they had such forcible Considerations to represent to them, that they infallibly promis'd themselves they would be of the same Opinion.

The Cardinal desiring they would let him know some  
of

of those Reasons, the Deputies said, That in that casethe 1628.  
best Fineness being to have none at all, they would discover  
them with Sincerity, to a Person whom they were not  
in a condition to deceive, and in and from whom were  
all their Hopes and Fears: That they confess'd they had  
done all they could, to obtain for the *Rochellers* strong  
and ready Succours; but they had experimented the Mi-  
sery of soliciting Foreigners, who regard not the In-  
terests of those who beg their Protection, but only as it  
quadrates with their own: That they had given them a  
parcel of fine Words; but the effects which follow'd  
them, were in resemblance like to what such People  
would do, who desir'd *Rochelle* should be taken rather  
than reliev'd: That the *English* the Year fore-past had  
engag'd the *Rochellers* to their Party, a little before the  
Harvest, as if they would take from them the means to  
provide for themselves: That they had consum'd a great  
part of their Provisions whilst they were in the Isle of  
*Rhée*, which was another Expedient to reduce them to  
extremity: That having promis'd to send them Corn as  
soon as they return'd from *England*, and being urg'd to  
it without ceasing by the Deputies, they would do no-  
thing of it, though nothing was more easie: That ha-  
ving sent Aids in *May* last, they came only to show them-  
selves, and return without attempting any thing, al-  
though the *Rochellers* which were with them had reque-  
sted some Vessels, with which they offer'd to enter at  
their own Peril: That the last Succours were come so  
late, that it was apparent they had a desire that the City  
should be taken before their arrival; or at least that it  
should be reduc'd to so great extremity, as to be oblig'd  
to make it self over clearly to them, that they might  
agree with *France* at their Expences: That, in fine, *Mon-*  
*tague* was gone into *England*, for no other Reasons but to  
obtain the Consent of the King of *Great Britain* to the  
Propositions had been made to him: That reflecting on  
all this, the Deputies were of Opinion, That since an Ac-  
commodation was talk'd of, it would be more pleasing  
to the King, and more advantageous to their Fellow-  
Citizens, to receive Favour of his pure Cleinency, than  
by the Intervention of a foreign Prince, who had been  
so ill a Guarrantee of the Treaty of the Year 1626. That  
they

1623. they hoped to make their fellow-Citizens sensible of these Reasons, if the Cardinal would get them leave to go to them.

That Prelate prais'd their good Intentions, and told them, that really they would obtain more from the King, by addressing themselves to him, than if a Foreign Prince should concern himself. After that, he asked them, what security they could give that they would serve his Majesty according to their Promise? They answer'd, that they could give two: The first, the visible advantage of those for whom they treated; and the second, That one of them would stay in the Camp, to answer on peril of his Life, for the sincerity of his Companion. The Cardinal replied, That he hoped the King might trust them, and leave them both at Liberty to execute their Design: And to give the better means to manage this Affair with Success, he said, That he would not hide from them, that the Brouilleries of *Italy* pressed so hard on his Majesty, that the days he employ'd before *Rochelle*, were as so many years; and that he would redeem every one of them, if it were possible, at a very large Summ; That those of *Rochelle* had given him to understand, that they could yet hold out three Months; That if it were so, he would give them a Chart-blank; but if it were not, it were not just that their obstinacy should obtain that, which they might have upon a free and voluntary submission; That his Majesty would therefore send Commissioners into the City, amongst whom the Deputies should be concerned, to take an account of the Victuals, and give a true report of their quantity; and if there were none, he expected the *Rochellers* should surrender at discretion.

The Deputies beseeched the Cardinal not to make them Bearers of such sad Tidings, and to consider that it was impossible to take an exact Account of the Victuals in *Rochelle*; because private Persons who had any, would hide them with great care; That when they made a re-search in the Month of *May* last, they found

found but one Months Provisions, yet six have since been elapsed: That besides, there must an account be taken of all the Fish, Cockles, &c. which the Sea brings in, of all the Hides, of all the Leather, and all the Parchment, and generally of every thing which hath any Juice proper for Nourishment; That when all this would not suffice for the Subsistence of the Besieged for three Months, they might manage it so, that there should be enough and more for those who were capable to defend themselves, and let the rest die with hunger: That he might well judge that the *Rochellers* would not be so stout if their Victuals were absolutely wanting, as had been told him, and that they attended to capitulate at the last Morfel; That they beseeched him to give them leave to carry the News of a Grace a little more extensive, that they might be in condition to make it valuable by their fellow-Citizens: and to think that they were to treat with a people who would make it be seen, that when they could no longer live, they knew very well how to die. He who made this Speech, in finishing, shed some Tears, and those who heard appear'd affected.

After this \* the Deputies of *Rochelle* were admitted, they entreated the Cardinal to obtain tolerable conditions for them from his Majesty, and promised they should be accepted: They also desir'd he would permit them to see their fellow-Citizens on board the *English* Fleet; after which they promis'd to put the City into the King's Hands. The Cardinal immediately answer'd them, That he would immediately let them see the Deputies of the Fleet, if they would promise not to speak to them. When they had promis'd, he went himself to his Gallery, and told the Deputies of the Fleet, which were there, That he would let them see the Deputies of *Rochelle*, on condition they should say nothing to them. They were infinitely surpriz'd on both sides, and saluted each other at a distance. They had both reason to fear, that the one side or other had spoken things which did not agree, or might be hurtful to the common Interest; but they were not then permitted to satisfy each other.

\* *Assassins* who was present, tells it thus, though *Aubrey* tells it somewhat otherwise.

Those



1628.

Those of the City again offer'd to put themselves under the Obedience of the King, and still supplicated the Cardinal, to procure his Majesty's Pardon. He promis'd it them, and told them, that the King was gone abroad for eight Days, and that he would speak to him at his return. Upon this one of the Deputies cried out, *How, my Lord, eight Days! Rochelle hath not wherewithal to live three.* Then the Cardinal made a Discourse, in which he strongly set forth the evil consequences of their Obstinacy; after which he added, That he would induce the King to be merciful to them; and that very Hour he drew up Articles for them to carry back to Rochelle. He offer'd them pardon for all was past, to grant them their Lives, liberty of their Religion, and enjoyment of their Goods. As for their Privileges, and the Form of their Government, the King was to regulate at his Pleasure, and the Fortifications to be ras'd. The Deputies of the City said, That assuredly the Articles would be accepted, and took leave of the Cardinal, who also sent back those of the Fleet. They had moreover, before they parted, liberty to speak to each other, and those of the Fleet pray'd the others to comprehend them in their Treaty.

The Cardinal, nevertheless, caus'd separate Grants of Pardon to be made for those of the City, and for those who had been abroad since the War. Those of the Fleet fearing they should be excluded by those of the City, who, at the extremity in which they were, would be constrain'd to any thing should be impos'd upon them, left themselves entirely to the Cardinal's Generosity, and brought him to intercede not only for those on board the *English* Fleet, but also for those whom this War had constrain'd to go out of the Kingdom. The Cardinal promis'd a Declaration should be granted them; by which the King should forget all past, and permit them to come into his Havens, even with the Prizes they had taken; intending they should enjoy the same Privileges with his other Subjects, and the free exercise of their Religion, putting them into the possession of all their Goods,



1628. of the City came to tell him that they accepted of the Articles. The next day was taken up in putting them in a better Form, and in regulating the manner how the King's Troops were to enter into the City, to prevent their causing any Disorders. The 28th the Articles were signed by the Magistrates of *Rochelle*, in the name of the City, and by *Marillac*, and *du Hallier*, Masters of the Camp for the King, who would not sign them no more than the Cardinal and the other Generals. It looked not fit for the dignity of the Crown to seem to capitulate with its Subjects, and that manner of Transaction might serve in time and place, to diminish the Rights which those of *Rochelle* might pretend to have, by consequence of that Capitulation. \* Behold here an Abridgement of what it contain'd,

\* See the  
Sequel of  
the Rebellion  
of France, in  
theyear 1628  
p. 974.

I. ' That the King pardon'd the *Rochellers* their Fault  
' since their last Commotion, with security for all their  
' Lives ; That he granted them the free exercise of the  
' pretended Reformed Religion in *Rochelle*.

II. ' That they should be re-established in their Goods,  
' of what nature soever, notwithstanding all Condemna-  
' tions and Confiscations which had been made ; except  
' the Enjoyment of the Revenues of their Lands, Movea-  
' bles, Woods cut, and Debts which had been actually  
' received before the surrender of *Rochelle*.

III. ' That all the Soldiers, Subjects to the King,  
' which should then be found in *Rochelle*, and who should  
' neither be Burgesses, nor Inhabitants, should enjoy the  
' same Favours ; That the Heads, and the Gentlemen  
' should march out of the City with their Swords by  
' their sides, and the Soldiers with Cudgels in their  
' Hands, That they should write down their Names and  
' Surnames, and take an Oath never to bear Arms against  
' his Majesty's Service, on pain of forfeiting the Fa-  
' vours granted to them ; That for the Captains and  
' *English* Soldiers, they should be conducted by Sea into  
' *England*, without any Injury done to them.

IV. ' That

IV. ' That those of *Rochelle*, as well Inhabitants as  
' Soldiers, should be discharged of all Acts of Hostility  
' which they had committed since the last Troubles, of  
' all Negotiations which they had made in Foreign  
' Countries, and all other things, except the execrable  
' Cases excepted in the Edicts, concerning the King's  
' Person.

V. ' That they should remain discharged of the Fines  
' of Cannon, coining of Money, seizures of Money, as  
' well Royal and Ecclesiastical, as others, as also from  
' Contributions order'd for the entertainment of Soldiers,  
' and Penalties decreed against Absentees, and for the  
' demolishing of their Houses, and of all that might have  
' been this way employ'd in that City.

VI. ' That all the Inhabitants and Soldiers should al-  
' so remain acquitted from all Judgments, and all Sen-  
' tences, which might have been given against them, by  
' occasion of their Rebellion during these last Commo-  
' tions.

VII. ' That the Judges, Counsellors, and Commissa-  
' ries, as well Civil as Criminal, of that City, should not  
' be called to account, nor any private Persons, to  
' whose benefit they had acted in what concerneth Pri-  
' zes or Booties.

VIII. ' That the Judgment-Fines, Suspensions, and  
' Interdictions given by the Presidencies, as well  
' against the Mayors of that City, as also their Assistants,  
' shall be null and void as if they never had been, as well  
' as all Proceedings which follow'd thereupon, against  
' any one of these Judges, without any of them who  
' had been employ'd on one side or the other, to  
' be call'd to an account.

IX. ' That the Contents aforesaid, should be ratified  
' by the Mayors, Peers, and Sheriffs of *Rochelle*; and  
' that the Ratification should be brought on the morrow



1628. 'at two of the Clock in the Afternoon in good Form;  
'after which it would please the King to deliver to the  
'Deputies Letters of Declaration, approving and ratify-  
'ing the same Treaty.

X. 'That these Ratifications being delivered, the  
'Gates of the City should be opened, and surrendred  
'to those whom his Majesty pleased to appoint, to the  
'end he might make his Entry there when and how he  
'pleas'd.

XI. 'That his Majesty would promise to cause at the  
'Entrance and Lodgment of the Soldiers in the Ci-  
'ty, such Order, that none whosoever should receive  
'any Injury whatsoever, either in his Person, or in his  
'Goods.

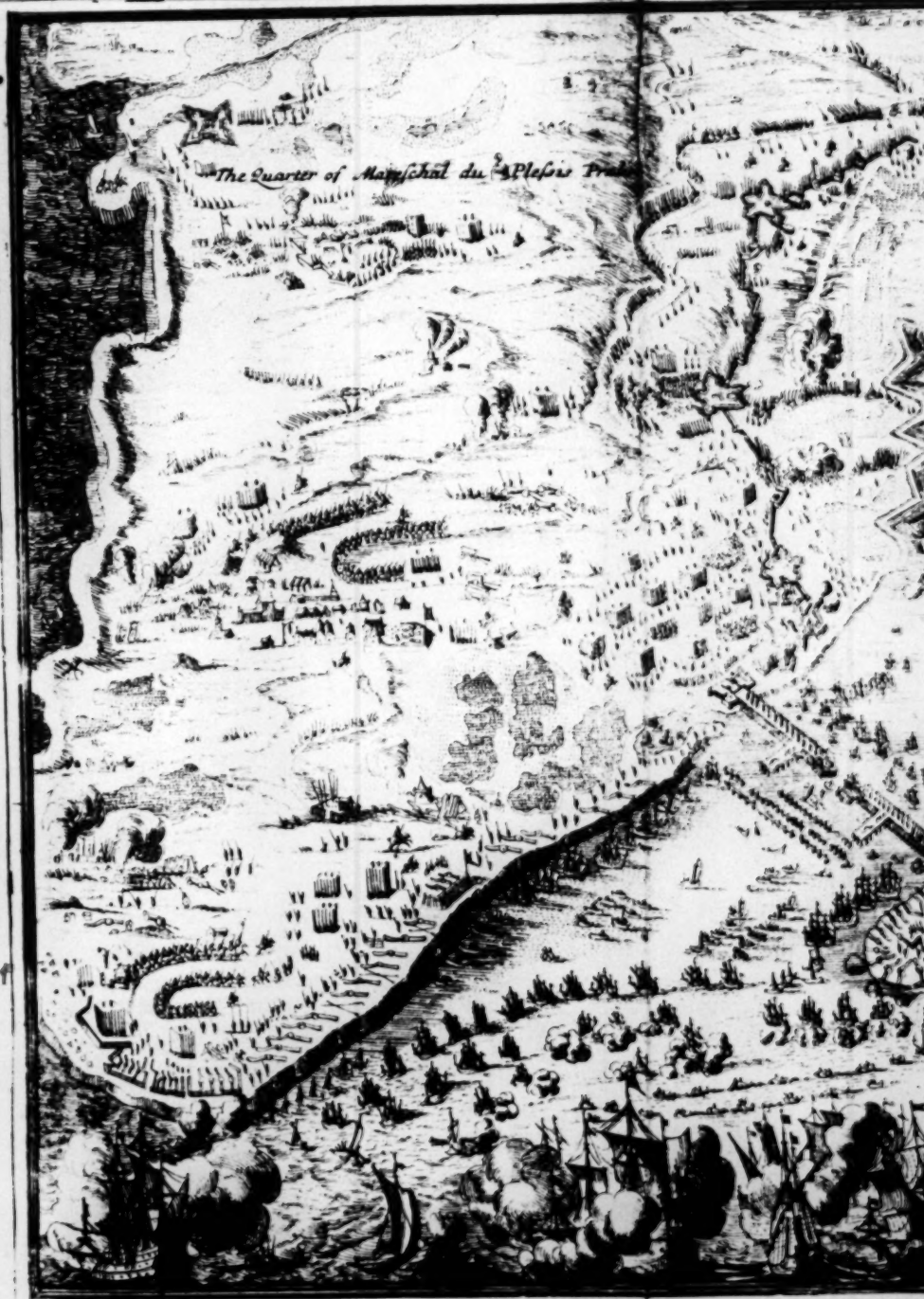
*Aubery's Life  
of the Card.  
Lib. 2. c. 21.*

*\* Pontie Mem.  
T. 2. p. 266.*

These Articles being signed, the *Rochelle* Deputies went on the morrow to *Laleu*, where the King was, to beg his Pardon; and on the 30th of the Month, in the Morning, the *Swiss* and *French* Guards entred the Town, with the Duke of *Angouleme*, the *Mareschal de Schomberg*, and many others. The Lodgings being provided, the Cardinal came thither about two of the Clock in the Afternoon. At his Entrance the Mayor *Guison* \* presented himself, accompanied with six Archers who marched before him: But the Cardinal order'd him to dismiss his Archers, and to abstain from the Functions of his Charge of Mayor; this Dignity being tacitly suppress'd by the Articles of Reduction, as well as the other Rights and Privileges of the City. \* It is said, that the Cardinal speaking of the King of *France*, and of the King of *England*, *Guison* answer'd him, *It was far better to surrender ones self to a King who knew how to take Rochelle, than to another who knew not how to relieve it.* This bold Answer denoted the Courage of this Man, which had appear'd in a thousand perillous occasions both by Sea and Land: But it is assured that he had cause to be discontented at the Cardinal, who taking away his Charge, told him, *That the King was sole Master and Mayor of Rochelle, although they had promised*



*The Siege of Rochel by Lewis XIII King of France where Cardin*







*The Siege of Rochel by Lewis XIII King*



to keep it for him. They add, that Guison said af- 1628.  
terwards to some body, That had he known that they  
would thus have been worse than their Words to him,  
the King should not have found one single Man when he  
entered into *Rochelle*, because he would have kept it to  
the last.

Perhaps even the King might have been oblig'd to <sup>*Paroiss. ibid.*</sup>  
raise the Siege by reason of the Winter, and the Storms <sup>*p. 367.*</sup>  
which arose after the Reduction of the Town. For as  
hath been observed by those that were present, the fair  
Weather ended the very day of its reducement, and the  
Fence began presently after to destroy it self. \* The  
King walking upon it, on the side of *Coreille*, a Joyst <sup>*October 30.*</sup>  
fell down under him, and had he not readily cast  
himself to the other side, he had fallen into the Sea.  
\* The Storm was so great eight days after, that it rolled <sup>*Novemb. 7.*</sup>  
down forty Fathom of the Fence; and the Ship of the  
*Chevalier de la Fagette*, hurried with a Gust of Wind in  
the Port, broke four or five Machines without enda-  
maging it self; which may let us know what the *En-*  
*glish* might have done, had they attempted to shake the  
Fence: So, if there had been any more Victuals in  
*Rochelle*, the Cardinal might have lost in one day, the  
Fruit of such vast Labours and excessive Charges; and  
his Fence, so much admired by those who only judge  
things by the event, had been the Subject of all the  
World's Raillery.

But the *Rochellers* \* were reduc'd to so great extremity, <sup>*\* Sequel of*</sup>  
that we are ascertain'd, that above fifteen thousand Per- <sup>*the Rebellion*</sup>  
sons were dead of Famine, or Diseases proceeding from <sup>*of France in*</sup>  
too little Victuals which they had for to sustain them, or <sup>*the Year 1628*</sup>  
of ill Diet which they took: Those which remain'd <sup>*p. 982.*</sup>  
were so pale, and so thin, that they resembled rather Ske-  
letons than living Persons: So that the first thing which  
the Cardinal did at his Entrance, \* was to cause a great <sup>*\* Antony's*</sup>  
quantity of Meat and Ammunition-Bread to be brought <sup>*Life of Card.*</sup>  
into the Town, and to publish by beat of Drum, That <sup>*Lib. 2. c. 21.*</sup>  
whosoever had occasion might send for it. The day  
following it was necessary to bring a number of Men

1628. into the City out of the Camp to bury the dead Carcasses, which remain'd in great numbers without burial, in private Houses and other Places; whole Families being dead of Hunger, and the other seeing themselves at a Wake of the same nature, no Person took care to bury the dead; and the Houses being shut, serv'd for Sepulchres to those who had inhabited them.

After they had clean'd the Houses and the Streets, on the 1st. of *November* the Cardinal said Mass in *St. Margueret's Church*, which had been new Dedicated by the Archbishop of *Bordeaux*, and he there gave the Sacrament to the Keeper of the Seals, and the Marechal of *Schomberg*: After which, he went out of the City to accompany the King at his Entry. He march'd singly on Horseback, and was preceded by the Duke of *Angoulême*, who had the Marechals of *Bassompierre* and *Schomberg* on his sides.

Thus it was that the Cardinal subdu'd *Rochelle* to the Despotick Power of the Crown of *France*; a Design in which he spent vast Summs, and sacrific'd the Lives of above Forty thousand of the King's Subjects, as well of one as the other Religion. All this might have been avoided, by the Observation of the Edict of *Nantes*, and employing the Treasure to make the Crown flourish, and repulse the Enemies of the State; and to make the Subjects of the Crown happy, in sparing their Money which was consum'd, and their Blood which was spilt, to make the King absolute over one City. One might have seen, by the Constancy and Bravery of the *Hugonots* in suffering, during a Siege of more than a Year, which reduc'd them to the last extremity, what they could have done for the King, if he would have allow'd some Privileges which cost him nothing, and treated them as his Catholick Subjects, if he had pleas'd to employ them against the *Spaniards*. It cannot be said, that it needed to be fear'd that they would rise at the Instigation of some Disturbers; because it is most certain, that let the great Ones do what they will, whilst the People find themselves but indifferently well, and are convinc'd that

that those who govern them, do not seek to spoil them of 1628;  
 their Privileges, and the Fruits of their Industry, they  
 will never suffer themselves to be seduc'd, and always  
 prefer the certain Enjoyment of what they have, to the  
 uncertain Hopes of what may be given them. There is  
 not one Example, that Subjects of a Monarchy, quietly  
 enjoying Liberty of Conscience, and their Goods, and  
 having no reason to suspect the taking them from them,  
 have taken Arms against their Prince. But when those  
 whose Revenues and Authority are founded on some  
 Opinions of the People, which have no relation to the  
 Good of the State, do intermeddle in the Administration  
 of Affairs, or engage Princes to follow their Opinions,  
 we never fail to see all things sacrific'd to the Interest and  
 Passion of those, who ought to think of nothing more  
 than to give Examples contrary to this fatal Conduct,  
 which hath overthrown so many States, and shed so much  
 Blood. Besides, those who look on the People as a kind  
 of Slaves, who ought to suffer all things from their Sove-  
 reigns, count for nothing all the Breaches which are  
 made on the best establish'd Privileges, and the most equi-  
 table Laws: The greatest Violence of the Ministers,  
 in their Opinion, are no way contrary to the good of the  
 Publick; but if the People bethink themselves to show  
 some Resentment, it is a Crime can no way be expiated;  
 and there is not any danger to which the Estate is not to  
 be expos'd, not only to punish, but also to hinder the  
 People from falling into it again.

These are the Maxims of which the Cardinal was ac-  
 cus'd; and they even said, That whilst he labour'd to  
 ruine the *Rochellers*, who at the bottom only sought not to  
 be Slaves to the Capricio's of the Court, but to be govern'd  
 according to the Laws, he forgot not to make himself  
 Creatures who depended solely on him\*: *Beuplan*, Cap-  
 tain of his Guards, falling sick, he caus'd F. *Joseph* to tell  
 an Officer, that in case *Beuplan* died, he should have that  
 Command, if he would accept it, by wholly devoting  
 himself to the Cardinal, without any reserve. He would,  
 as was said, have his Officers look upon him as their Sove-  
 reign; and that in all Changes of the Court, they should  
 always be for him, towards all, and against all, without  
 exce-

\* *Pont. et Mem.*  
 T. 2. p. 287.



1628. exception. These are the Conditions, as was said, which he made with all he entertain'd; and he dismiss'd from the King's Service those whom he judg'd to be his most faithful Servants, to bring them into his own: That if any one remain'd inviolably fix'd to the sole Person of the King, it was an assured Rule to be in the evil Opinion of the Minister, and never to come to Preferment.

• Auby's  
Life of the  
Cardinal,  
l. 2. c. 21.

Before his \* departure from *Rochelle*, the King publish'd a Declaration concerning that City, and which contain'd Twenty six Articles, of which the principal were, That there should be free and publick Exercise of the Catholick Religion in *Rochelle*, and in the Country of *Aunis*: That the Churches demolish'd should be rebuilt, and restor'd to those to whom they belong'd before, with their Church-yards, Houses, and Dependencies: That a Revenue sufficient should be assign'd to the Curates, who had no means to live on, to maintain themselves according to their Quality, out of the Demesns which belonged to the Town-House of the City: That they should set up a Cross in the Place of the Castle, with an Inscription on the Pedestal, touching the Reduction of the City; and, That every Year, on the 1st. of *November*, a general Procession should be made for Thanksgiving: That the Church-yard, which had been consecrated in the Territory of *Coreille*, and wherein the greatest part of those of the King's Army, who died during the Siege, were buried, should be kept in good Condition, without Profanation: and that a Convent of *Minims* should be erected there, who should pray for the Souls of the Defuncts: That the Building which was in the Place of the Castle where they formerly preached, should be converted into a Cathedral Church, which should be erected to a Bishoprick, or at least the nearest Episcopal See should be transferr'd thither, by Permission of the Pope: That the Mayoralty, the Sherifalty, the Body and Community of the City, the Order of Peers, and that of Burgessees, should be suppress'd for ever; and that the Steeple, which should be for calling together the Assemblies of the City, should be founded: That the Walls,

Walls," the Ramparts, the Bastions, and all the other Fortifications, except the Towns of *St. Nicolas*, of the Chain, and of the Lanthorn; and the Walls on the Sea-side, which were necessary to secure the Inhabitants against the Incurfions of Pirates, should be rased, their Foundations demolish'd, and their Ditches fill'd up; so that the City should be open on all sides, without ever being re-establish'd for the future; nor any Wall to be thereafter made, no not for the inclosure of a Garden: That the City should be for the future liable to Taxes; and nevertheless for encouragement of Trade, the Imposition should be moderated to the Summ of Four thousand Livres, which should be instead of the like impos'd formerly for the Subvention: That no Stranger, or Foreigner, should again inhabit there, altho he had obtain'd Letters of Naturalization: That the same Prohibition should be of force, in regard of those who made profession of the pretended Reformed Religion, or any other than the Catholick Religion; none of which were to become new Inhabitants, at least if they had not dwelt there as House-keepers before, or were not gone or departed on occasion of the *English* Descent: That, in fine, for the maintenance of this New Polity, which equally concern'd the Religion and State, there shall be an Intendant of Justice in this City, and in the Provinces of *Aunis*, of *Poitou* and of *Saintonge*, and whose Jurisdiction should extend from the River *Loire*, to the Rivers of *Garonne* and *Gironde*.

It was thus that an end was put to the Privileges of *Rochelle*, the principal City of Security to the *Hugonots*, and whose Taking reduc'd them to suffer patiently all the Breaches which were afterwards made of the Edict of *Nants*. It is \* assur'd, that the Cardinal had a Design to demand of the King the Government of this City, as well as of the Isle of *Rhée*, although *Thoiras* had already that of the Isle, and was promis'd that of *Rochelle*. But *Rochelle* being dismantled, the Government of it was not for the Cardinal's turn, who was for being Master of a strong Place to retreat to on occasions. Besides, it was difficult to take the Isle from *Thoiras*, who had so fortunately

\* *Siri Mem.*  
*Rec. T. 6. p.*  
 287.

1628. nately defended it against the *English* Army, and moreover was well beloved of the King. But to deface the most considerable Monument of the Services *Thoiras* had rendred the Crown, the Cardinal caus'd the Citadel of *St. Martins* to be \*demolish'd as useless. *Thoiras* thus had these Two Governments, with some reward in Money.

\* *Siri ibid.*  
p. 504.

The *English* Fleet remain'd some days in sight of *Rochelle*, after it was taken, by reason of contrary Winds; at last it departed the 11th of *November*, having lost Twenty two Ships, of which she set fire to Five; the others were sunk, or in vain consum'd, in essaying to burn the *French* Fleet. As the *English* had threatned *Brouage*, the Cardinal went thither to put all things in order, before the Fleet weigh'd Anchor; but instead of undertaking any Enterprize, it made sail for *England*, after it had seen that Place taken, which it came to relieve.

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*The End of the Second Book.*

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THE  
HISTORY  
Of the Famous  
Cardinal *de RICHLIEU*.

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VOL. I. BOOK III.

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*Containing the Principal Occurrences at Home and Abroad under the Cardinal's Ministry; from the Siege of Rochel in 1628, and the Reduction of that Place, to the Queen Mother's Departure out of France in 1631.*

THE Siege of Rochel was too Remarkable to be passed slightly over, or receive any interruption in the Narration: For which reason I remitted to the beginning of this Book, a Relation of the principal Things which passed in France, during the last Ten Months of that Siege, and which are too important to the Sequel of this History, to be delivered in a few words, or added to the end of the preceding Book, which was already too long.

The Duke of Nevers \* leaving France in the beginning of the Year 1628, as he went to take Possession of the Dutchy of Mantua; offered to the Duke of Orleans,

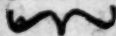
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if

\* *Siri Manu*  
Rec. T. 4. P.  
322.



1628.



\* Siri *ibid.*  
P. 328.

if he would Marry his Daughter, Eight hundred thousand Crowns for her Portion. He also ordered his Sister, the Dutchess of *Longueville*, to offer to the President *Coigneux*, the Priory of *la Charité*, which had Eight thousand Crowns Revenue belonging to it, and to *Pay-laurens*, the Government of the Dutchy of *Nevers*, if they could induce Monsieur to Marry that Princess. In the mean time the Queen-Mother opposed it all along with the same heat, and left nothing uneffayed which might engage her Son to the Princess *Anne de Medicis*; But when she discoursed him about it, \* he told her she was too young, and that his Circumstances required a Wife, by whom he might have Children presently; and besides that the Portion, the Duke of *Florence* would give her was inconsiderable. The Queen in vain remonstrated to him, that the Promises of the Duke of *Mantua* were meer *Chimera's*, and that he could not bestow so much on his Daughter, without ruining his Family. *Gaston* obstinately persisted to refuse *Anne*, and the Reasons he gave for it were as strong, at least, as those which they brought against *Mary de Gonzaga*. So the Queen-Mother found there was no other way to break her Son's Design, but to spin out the Business as long as she could, in hopes some Change might happen to embarrass that Affair. In the interim she forbid Monsieur to see the Princess of *Mantua* at her House, and the Princess to come to the *Louvre*, for fear the Prince should so far settle his Affections, as that it would be impossible to remove them. The King also wrote to the Duke of *Mantua*, that if he continued his Thoughts of Marrying his Daughter to the Duke of *Orleans*, he would contribute nothing towards the Support of him in his Dominions. He declared at the same time to Monsieur, that he would never consent to that Marriage, and *Gaston* was forced to pass his word, that he would not Espouse the Princess of *Mantua*, without the permission of their Majesties.

Nevertheless, as it was impossible to hinder Monsieur on several Occasions to see that Princess, whom her Aunt the Dutchess of *Longueville* carried about with her every where, where she imagined the Prince might come;

come; and as these Interviews confirmed him in his Design of Marrying her; the Queen-Mother, \* to break off this Correspondence, wrote to the Duke of Mantua to send for his Daughter home. That Prince stood in so much need of the Assistance of France, to confirm him in the Possession of the State of Mantua, that he concluded himself obliged to give the Queen-Mother that Satisfaction, whatever advantage he might hope for the future by that Alliance. He sent Word to the Dutchess of Longueville, to hasten his Daughter's departure out of Paris; \* so the Dutchess brought her to Colmiers, to \* 20 April, conduct her to the Abbey of Avenay in Champagne, where her Sister was Abbess, and in which place she was until he could send for her into Italy. About two Months after he gave Orders for her speedy passing the Mountains, which was taken well both by the King and Queen-Mother. But Monsieur made such a noise upon this Affair, and was so urgent with the King, to put a stop to her journey, that the King granted his Request. \* Cardinal Richlieu, without whose Advice the King \* Bassomp. would not meddle with an Affair of this Consequence, T. 2. P. 492. was of Opinion, that Satisfaction was to be given to Monsieur, were it, that he designed to regain the Amity of that Prince, or to traverse the Queen-Mother's Design of perpetuating her Authority in the Government. This Princess was in great perplexity, and began to suspect the Cardinal had more regard to his own Interest than thole of his Benefactress. She suspected also that the Duke of Mantua would not have sent for his Daughter, but with design to have her stopped, and secretly kept Intelligence with those Persons that encouraged her Match with Gaston: This caused a great Coldness in her, as to what concerned the Affairs of Mantua. But the Interest of State obliged them to assist him; so that it seems little care was taken to comply with the Queen-Mother's Desires.

The Cardinal at his Return to Paris, after the taking of Rochel, \* received a visit from the Duke of Orleans, who earnestly pressed him to obtain Their Majesties leave for him to marry Mary de Gonzaga, and told him, he would look upon it as a particular Obligation. The

1628.

\* Bassomp.  
Mem. T. 2.  
P. 49.\* 20 April,  
Siri Mem.  
Rec. T. 6.  
P. 398.\* Bassomp.  
T. 2. P. 492.\* Siri Mem.  
Rec. T. 6.  
P. 507.

1628. Cardinal made Answer, That as Monsieur was the Second Person of the Kingdom, he had always professed Obedience to him; but on this occasion, all he could do was to stand Neuter, without opposing or favouring his Desires. The Reason was, because the King had positively forbid him to speak of that Marriage, and he durst not disobey him. That the Queen-Mother having conceived an Aversion to this Alliance, which she judged could not be advantageous to the Crown, by Reason the Princess of Mantua was sickly: He durst not oppose himself to Her Majesty's Will, to whom he was so infinitely obliged. That Monsieur ought to endeavour himself to render the King and Queen-Mother flexible, whilst the Cardinal would pray to God to inspire them for the best.

\* Ibid. P.  
496.

\* Ibid. P.  
508.

It is reported, that Fabbioni \* assured the Queen-Mother, that the King was near the Point of Death, and that Monsieur would ascend the Throne, which kept this Princess in a perpetual inquietude, because she feared, that if Monsieur was once Master of his own Actions, he would immediately marry the Princess of Mantua, who would never pardon the many cross Designs she had set on foot to hinder her Marriage. \* It is also said, that the Cardinal was troubled with the same weakness as the Queen-Mother, concerning judicial Astrology, and that having consulted Peter Campanella, about what should befall the Duke of Orleans, this Monk answered, *Imperium non gustabit in aeternum: He shall never come to Rule: Which* quieted his Mind as to that Affair. Thus the Astrologers predicting opposite things, it must of necessity so happen, that one must be in the Right, which gives occasion to those who believe their Impostures to defend them, saying, That those, whose Predictions were false, either knew not the Rules of the Art, or did not apply them as they should. By this Method, it is impossible to disabuse them, because they take no notice of false Predictions, and only put a value on those which are confirmed by the Event, as indubitable Proofs of the certainty of Astrology. Whether the Cardinal was really bewitched by this cheating Art, or no; 'tis certain, that the King had none of the best Constitutions, that he had no Children, and so might

might reasonably enough fear the Duke of Orleans 1628. would succeed to the Throne. He had never shew'd himself very Complaisant to him before, and at the beginning of the Siege of *Rocheb.* sent him back to *Paris*, though he had been declared Lieutenant-General of the Army which besieged that City.

During the Siege of this Place, \* the Prince of Condé \* See the and the Duke of Montmorency, acted in *Languedoc* against *Sequel of the Rebellion of France on this Year.* the Duke of *Rocheb.* with two Armies, each of which were stronger than his; the two Royal Armies consisting of Ten Thousand Men each, and that of the Duke of *Rocheb.* had not above Six Thousand. I will not lose time in relating the several Circumstances of this War, since all this Year the Cardinal had no part in it; 'tis sufficient to observe, that the Prince of Condé and the Duke of Montmorency, who had neither of them any great Reason to love the Cardinal, because he never treated them, as Persons of their Birth and Rank might justly expect, strove to rob him of his Glory, and consequently of his Authority, which in the end proved fatal to one of them, and on which the other depended all his Life time. By ruining the Forces of the *Huguenots* in *Languedoc*, by taking their Places, and destroying their Lands, and crossing the Designs of that Party as much as possibly they could, they hastned the taking of *Rocheb.* in which the Cardinal was so highly interested, that he would have lost all his Reputation, had he not succeeded.

The Expence which was to be made for the Maintenance of so many Armies, obliged the King to demand of the Clergy the Sum of Three Millions of Livres, \* 17 June which was granted him; as also to create many new *Sequel of the Rebell. 751.* Offices, to make a Constitution of Three Hundred Thousand Livres of Rent on the *Hôtel* of the City of *Paris*, and to have recourse to many other extraordinary Ways, to find ready Money.

The Duke of *Nevers*, \* before he parted for *Mantua* \* *Siri Memoirs* had obtained a promise of Succours from the Court, to *Rec. T. 6.* aid him, as much as possibly they could, in the perplexity and Charges in which he was engaged. The Cardinal had reiterated this Promise after his Departure, *P. 312, &c.*



1628. to *Friandi* his Agent in *France*. But as *Spain* supported the Prince of *Guastalla*, and the Duke of *Savoy* had Pretensions on *Montferrat*, it was conceived necessary that the new Duke of *Mantua* should use his utmost endeavours to accommodate himself with them, because the Court was not then in Condition to give him any considerable Assistance. They thought it likewise expedient to endeavour to appease the Duke of *Savoy*, who was incensed to the highest degree, at the Duke of *Reibel's* Marriage with his Daughter, without ever asking his Consent, or that of *Margaret of Savoy*, Mother to the Princess. They dispatched an Express to him, and others to *Vienna* and *Madrid*, to divert the Storm which threatened the Duke of *Mantua*, that he might be put into Possession of his Estates with the Consent of those Powers. The Ambassadors of the Crown, amongst the Princes of *Italy*, had Orders to use their Endeavours to induce them to be favourable to him.

But the Duke of *Savoy*, being unwilling to stay the end of the Negotiation, which was now going to be set on foot, to satisfy him as to his Pretensions on *Montferrat*, \* joined himself with the *Spaniards*, and entered into that Country on one side, whilst *Don Gonzales of Cordova* Governor of *Millan*, entered on another, on pretext of preserving to the Pretenders the Rights they might have in *Montferrat*, according to the Intention of the Emperor, under whose Name they covered themselves. Whilst the Marquis of *S. Chamond* commanded all the *French*, who were in the Service of *Savoy*, to desert him.

\* In the Month of March.  
Ibid. p. 374

About the same time \* the Emperor *Ferdinand II.* having refused to confer the Investiture of the Duchies of *Mantua* and *Montferrat* on the Duke of *Nevers*, ordered them to be sequestred, until he had heard the Reasons of the Pretenders, and nominated *John Count of Nassau*, to be his Commissioner in *Italy*, to whom he required the Duke to Surrender the Dominions of which he had lately taken Possession: But this Decree could take no Effect, but what wholly depended on the Success of Arms, and the Duke thought it not fit to submit to it, though the Count of *Nassau*, had received Orders to repair

recall into *Daly*, to put it in Execution. The Duke of *Savoy* likewise and *D. Gonzales* had other Designs in their Head, than to stay for the Emperor's Commissioner. They had already divided *Monferrat*. The Spaniard was to have *Casal*, *Nice*, *Montcalva*, *Aigui*, *Ponzone*, and some other Places; and the Duke of *Alva*, *Trino*, *St. Damien*, and some other Territories lying within *Piemont*. Each was to take what he pretended to keep; and it was agreed, that no new Fortifications should be made. *D. Gonzales*, the better to compass his Design, had given a small Body of Men to the Marquis of *Montarone*, to cover the Territory of *Cremona*, where the Duke of *Mantua* prepared to make some Incurfions, with his Troops and those Succours he expected from the *Venetians*, whom the Motions of *D. Gonzale* had allarm'd. He was also to leave another small Army near the Lake of *Como*, to stop up the Passes of the *Valtelline*, by which Soldiers might come to the Service of the *Venetians*. So that he could not bring before *Casal* above Two thousand Horse, and Eight thousand Foot.

\* He invested it so negligently, that abundance of Officers and French Souldiers threw themselves into the Place, with all sorts of Ammunition, without which it had been impossible it should have made any long resistance. *D. Gonzales* kept Correspondence in this Place with one *Spadino*, upon whom he relied more than on the Force of Arms. He had placed so much Confidence in this Man, that he assured the Council of *Spain* that he was certain to become Master of *Casal* as soon as he appeared before it. Upon this assurance, the Courier, which should have gone to bring him Letters, to live peaceably with the Duke of *Mantua*, was stopped, and others were written to the contrary. But the Design of *Spadino* being discovered, and he put to Death, the Garrison of *Casal* made so vigorous a Resistance, and were so faintly attacked, that the Spaniards began to repent themselves of their unjust Enterprize.

The Duke of *Savoy*, who at the same time had taken the Campaign, made himself Master of *Alba* and of *Trino* with no great difficulty, those Places being found unprovided of all Things. *D. Gonzales* had intreated

1622.

him, whilst he was before the last of these two Places, to come and join him, to prosecute the Siege of *Casal*, but *Charles Emmanuel* chose rather to take what was to remain in his Hands, than to lose his time by putting the *Spaniards* in Possession of such Places as were to fall to their share. He presently Fortified *Trino*, to render it capable of enduring a Siege; which was contrary to the Treaty he had made with the *Spaniards*; which raised a great deal of Jealousie in them; so that they could not behold without regret, so strong a Place in the Hands of so stirring a Prince, as *Charles Emmanuel*. They feared, that he secretly hindered their Design of taking *Casal*, a Place of such Consequence in respect of *Piemont*. That those who had *Casal* might disturb it at their Pleasure. In the mean time they durst not discover their disgust to the Duke, lest they should cause a Rupture with that Prince, at a time when they stood in need of him.

A little after the Duke took *Ponestare*, which being in the *Spanish* Part, was instantly put into their Hands, but he did not so with *Mancaloo*, into which he put a *Piemontese* Garrison, because of the Importance of the Place, tho' by the Treaty it should have belonged to the *Spaniard*. These Proceedings increased the Suspicions they had entertained against the Duke of *Savoy*, by means of this Conduct, who demonstrated a desire of aggrandising himself by any ways whatsoever, without troubling himself about Promises or Treaties. The Count of *Serville* also made himself Master of *Nice de la Paix*, notwithstanding the brave Resistance of the Besieged, who sold it him dear enough.

These Progresses put the Duke of *Mantua* into extremest Confusions, who was lamented of by all the World, but helped by none, who found himself destitute of Money, not daring to trust the Nobility of his States, tho' the most were very affectionate to his Service. The King of *France* was so busied before *Roche*, that to avoid drawing the Crown of *Spain* on his Back, he durst do nothing in Favour of the Duke of *Mantua*, lest he should too much irritate the *Spaniards*. Besides, the Queen-Mother ill satisfied with the Duke, because she

believed he designed to Marry his Daughter to Monsieur, hindred an open Declaration in his Behalf, or furnishing him with Forces sufficient for his Relief. The *Venitians* were willing to succor him with all their Forces, but they were fearful to engage singly in this Affair, and without the Forces of *France*, they believed themselves not able to oppose the House of *Austria*. The other Princes of *Italy* contented themselves with disapproving the Violence of the *Spaniards* and the Duke of *Savoy*, without effectually Succouring the Duke of *Mantua*, who was oppressed by these Two puissant Enemies.

The Emperor knowing that the *Spaniard* had made use of his Name in the Invasion they had made on *Montferrat*, as if they had acted only by his Orders, shewed a great deal of Resentment, and publickly declared, that he had given them none. The Count of *Nassau* shortly arrived at *Mantua*, and required the Duke in the Emperor's Name to put his strongest Places into his Hands, that he might put *German* Garrisons in them, until His Majesty had determined to whom the Succession belonged. The Duke took some time to consider of it, and in the interim sent Expresses to *France* and *Venice*, to know what Answer he should make to the Emperor. The *Venitians* being in as great trouble as himself, and fearing to advise him, to the Execution of that, to which they must be obliged to contribute, only answered, that the knowledge which he had of the Emperor's Intentions, and of the Assistance of *France*, ought to serve as a Rule for his Conduct. All that *France* did, was to give Order to Monsieur de *Craqui*, to raise Eight thousand Foot and Eight hundred Horse, and to pass them with all speed into *Montferrat*. She granted besides to the Duke of *Mantua*, the Marquis d'*Uxelles* so command that Army, and he engaged himself to bring them into *Montferrat* in spite of all the Oppositions of the Duke of *Savoy*. They made besides many other Levies, with a design to join with those of the Marechal to go to *Casal* as soon as possible, and endeavour to raise the Siege. Although the Queen-Mother favoured not the Duke



1628. Duke of Mantua, and that besides the Siege of *Rohel* caused the Succours promised him to be delayed, yet the Cardinal continued in the Opinion that he ought to be assisted, and that as soon as possible. The King himself wrote to his Ambassador at *Rome*, to impart to his Holiness, that as soon as *Rohel* had submitted, he would take a Journey into *Dauphine*, to be nearer at hand to Succour the Duke of Mantua. The Nuntio *Rossi* who had succeeded Cardinal *Spada*, and *Zorzi* Ambassador of *Venice*, did strongly urge the King to send a powerful Army, without which neither the Pope nor the *Venetians* would hazard themselves by declaring for the Duke.

\* *Siri Mem.*  
*Rec. T. 6. P.*  
 309.

In the mean time time the\* Imperial Commissioners, not finding the Duke of Mantua inclined to put his Estates into the Hands of the Emperor, as he had believed, published a Monitory at *Milan*, Signed the 22d. of *May*, by which he threatned the Duke with the Ban of the Empire, and forbid his Subjects to obey him, if in Fifteen days he did not submit to the Decree of the Emperor : This Severity (which would have seemed Ridiculous, if the Duke had had wherewithal to defend himself, either by himself or by his Allies) was like to do him a very great Prejudice in the Condition he was in. *Ferdinand* had a powerful Army in *Germany*, which had more than once beaten that of the Protestant Leagues; and if he made part of those Troops to pass into the *Milanese*, it was not be questioned, but that the Emperor would with ease seize on the Duchies of *Mantua* and *Montferrat*, if the Friends of the Duke continued to assist him only with words, as they had hitherto done.

The Cardinal, in concurrence with the rest of the French Nation, could not suffer that the *Spaniards* should oppress the Duke of Mantua (whose Rights were indubitable) only because he was a Frenchman, but it was impossible to succour him with that speed as was necessary, to draw him out of his present Danger, because of the difficulty of the Passage of those Troops, which must be sent him at a time when all were busied in other

other Affairs. To gain time he caused divers Propositions to be made at *Madrid* and at *Turin*, and fell upon several Projects, which were all disapproved.

The Duke of *Mantua* found himself in a great Extremity, as having neither Money nor Troops to resist any longer. When Orders were given to the Marechal *de Crequi* to force the passage of the *Alps*, if the Duke of *Savoy* refused to grant it willingly. The Duke having notice of this, put himself in a Posture to oppose the Marechal, and *D. Gonzales* sent him part of his Troops, to take away from *Crequi* all hopes of making his way. But as every Body expected to see the latter set forward with the Troops of the King, and those which the Kindred of the Duke of *Mantua* had raised in *France*, commanded by the Marquis *d'Uxelles*, he \* on a sudden excused himself that he could not do it. Some attributed this Change to his not being declared General of that Army, and others to a secret Order, founded on this Maxime, That nothing was to be undertaken during the Siege of *Rebel*. In the mean time this Conduct strangely discredited the *French* in *Italy*, where they were suddenly expected; and the Republick of *Venice* pressed most earnestly the vigorous Succour of the Duke of *Mantua*, but though they were engaged to support him, yet would they assist only with a little Money and Corp, which they permitted him to have out of their Territories. Whatever Instances were made to engage the Marechal *Crequi* to assist the Army Commanded by *Uxelles* to pass the Mountains, yet would he do nothing nor stir a Foot from *Grenoble*. Instead of furnishing this Army with Victuals, he forbid through all his Government of *Dauphine* any to be sold them, so that a great Part were forced to Desert. However the Marquis *d'Uxelles* \* resolved to attempt the Passage, with the remainder of his Soldiers, which amounted to Ten Thousand Foot, and a Thousand Eight Hundred Horse. He advanced with a great deal of difficulty to *Fort St. Peter*, in the Marquisate of *Saluces*, where he found the Duke of *Savoy's* Army Entrenched. After some Skirmishes, the *French* found that this Passage was too strongly Fortified, to undertake to force it, against an Army

\* In the Month of July.

\* In the Month of August.

1628. Army which at last by the accession of the Troops, which arrived continually to the Duke of Savoy, was by far stronger than theirs. Upon this the Marquis d'Uxelles concluded on a retreat, and the Duke of Savoy would not follow him into the French Territories out of respect to the King; otherwise he might have cut them to pieces. So he contented himself with some Baggage and Ammunition which the French could not carry with them. In the mean time a Suspension of Arms was made, by the intervention of the Nuncio Scappi, but it turned to no account.

\* Siri Mem.  
Rec. T. 6.  
P. 456.

This Army which was thought capable to raise the Siege of Casal, dispersed it self entirely at its arrival into Dauphine, by the Malice of the Marechal de Crequi who was accused to have leaned too much to the Passion of the Queen-Mother, who was provoked without Reason against the Duke of Mantua on the Account of his Daughter. \* The Cardinal was exceedingly troubled, when he received the News of the ill Success of the Marquis d'Uxelles Enterprise. He complained in severe Terms to the Marquis de Canaples, Son to the Marechal. He also charged Priandi to write to his Master, that the Forces which the King had caused to be raised were still on foot, that if the Duke levied Eight Thousand Men of those which dispersed on the Frontiers, there would be enough to support him for the present, and that better Orders should be given for their Subsistence than had hitherto been done.

Soon after the Imperial Decree appeared dated the 17th of August, by which Ferdinand commanded the Duke of Mantua to obey in Thirty Days, or else to be proceeded against with Rigour. Some of the Ministers of France were of Opinion, that they should offer to deposit Casal and Montserrat into the Hands of the Pope, or of the Grand Duke, which of them should be named by the Emperor, on Condition that the Duke of Savoy and D. Gonzales would first restore what they had taken into the Hands of a Depositary; because if they refused to do it, as in all appearance they would, the non-Execution of the Imperial Decree, would be long of them and not of the Duke of Mantua, who by consequence could

could not be put under the Ban of the Empire. However, they did not intend to make their Concessions; but in Case *Casal* could not hold out all the Month of November, but if that Place could be kept longer, the Cardinal especially was of Opinion, that the Duke should keep all in his own Hands, since the King would have time enough to relieve him. Supposing the worst, it was not possible to execute the Emperor's Order so readily, as the Decree specified, but in the mean time it was judged requisite, that the Duke should remain in Arms. In fine, he answered, That he was ready to remit to the Duke of *Guaftalla* what he demanded, viz. *Réggiolo*, and the Vallies contiguous in Fief, on condition he would submit to the Judgment of the Pope, or the Grand Duke concerning the Rights which he pretended to have on the State of *Mantua*, that so all sorts of Disputes might be prevented. As to what concerned *Montferrat*, he consented to deposite it in the Hands of his Imperial Majesty, if he would name for Depository either the Prince of *Mantua* his Son, or the Princess his Daughter-in-Law, or either of them, and that for Three Months, in which time Judgment might be made of the Rights of those who were Pretenders.

The Emperor rejected those Propositions, and the Duke of *Savoy* and *D. Gonzales* having declared the Cessation of Arms to be ended, \* began to press upon *Casal*; the Duke of *Mantua* was every day more Embroiled, because *France* assisted him not at all, and neither the Pope nor the Republick of *Venice* would take the Field; before they saw a French Army in *Italy*. A little time after \* there came new Articles from *Vienna*, • See them by which the Emperor acted more like an Arbitrary Person than a Judge, proposing that the *Spaniards* and *Savoyards* should in his Name keep what they had taken in *Montferrat*, and the Duke the State of *Mantua*, to the end of the Process: And that *Casal* should be kept by a Garrison of the Emperor's drawn out of the *German* Troops that were in *Italy*. But it was unjust to dispossess the legitimate Successor of the Estates of the House of *Gonzaga*, and to leave to Usurpers what by force of Arms only they had taken Possession of. Besides,

In September.

See them in Sirs T. 6. P. 484.



1628. Besides, there were no Germans in Italy, but one Regiment which was in the Service of the Spaniards, and which depended more on them than on the Emperor. To endeavour better Conditions at the Imperial to obtain Court, the Duke of Mantua upon the Parole of the Emperor, sent his Eldest Son to Vienna. The delay of Succours which were promised on the Behalf of France, and which in appearance could not now pass the Mountains by reason of the Snow, engaged the Duke of Mantua to seek at any rate some means to appease the Emperor.

But no sooner was *Rechel* taken, but the Cardinal thought of nothing more than how to humble the House of Austria, and to succour the Duke of Mantua without Delays. This Affair nevertheless being proposed in a Council, whither were called the Principal Lords of the Realm, all were of the same Opinion.

\* Aubrey  
Life of the  
Card. lib. 3.  
p. 3. & 4.

\* The Cardinal de Berulle, who was the Chief of the Queen-Mother's Council was of Opinion, that this Expedition was to be deferred till the next Spring, nor wanted he Reasons to confirm his Sentiments, which no doubt were the same with the Queen-Mother's, who loved not the Duke of Mantua, as has been often observed. In the mean time Cardinal Richelieu adhered firmly to the contrary Opinion founded on these Reasons: That it was not agreeable to the Reputation of the King, to suffer the Duke of Mantua to be oppressed: That the Spaniards used him ill, because he was a Frenchman: That it was the great Interest of France, to support a Prince her Ally, especially in Italy, where the King of Spain was already too powerful: That if she deserted him, he would be constrained to agree with the Spaniards; who would divest him at least of Part of his Estates: That it was shameful and prejudicial to France to suffer the Duke of Savoy, to make War without controul against the Allies of the Crown, and take from them what belonged to them.

We are credibly assured, that the Cardinal foreseeing the Event, made use of these Terms to encourage the King.

SIR,

SIR,

Since by the taking of Rochel, your Majesty hath ended an Enterprize the most glorious for your self, and the most advantageous for your Kingdom, of any that can occur in your whole Life: Italy oppressed for a Year past by the Arms of the King of Spain and the Duke of Savoy, waits to receive from your Victorious Arms, a joyful Deliverance from the Calamities she labours under, your Reputation obliges you to espouse the Cause of your Neighbours and Allies, whom they would unjustly Rob of their Estates. But besides these weighty Reasons, your own Interests engage you to turn your Thoughts and your Arms on this side: And I dare promise you, that if you will take this Resolution, and execute it as it ought to be, the Issue of this Enterprize, will be no less Successful than that of Rochel. I am no Prophet, but I believe I may assure your Majesty, that if you lose no time in the Execution of this Design, you will raise the Siege of Casal, and give Peace to Italy by May next, and returning with your Army into Languedoc, you will reduce all to your Obedience, and give Peace to your Subjects in July, so that your Majesty will, as I hope, return Victorious to Paris in the Month of August.

This Advice was taken, and Twelve Thousand Foot and Fifteen or Sixteen Hundred Horse under the Conduct of *Thiery*, were ordered to march \* towards *Dauphine*. He was to have as many Troops raised in *Dauphine* and the Neighbourhood, besides others which the *Mareschal d'Espre* was to bring out of *Picardy*, which were sufficient to form an Army able to deliver the Duke of *Mantua* from his Fears of the *Spaniards* and *Savoyards*. It was also Believed, that only the noise of the March of these Troops would make them resolve upon some Agreement: But because it was not found, that they for this quitted their Pretensions, the Cardinal disposed every thing so as to get this Army to pass the Mountains as soon as possibly it might. But the Winter and the Plague which was in *Dauphine* and *Province*, and which rendred the Passages too difficult, besides that the *Hugonots* in *Languedoc* had not yet laid down

\* In the  
Month of  
November.

1628. down their Arms, did hinder any thing to be done in the Year 1629. In the mean time all endeavours were used, to bring off the Duke of Savoy from the Interest of Spain, as well by Promises as by Threats. But that Prince remained unalterable, because he perceived very well, that France so far concerned itself in the Interests of the Duke of Mantua, as not to suffer any considerable Part of his Estates to be taken from him.

\* Bassomp.

Mem. T. 2.

P. 521.

As soon as the King returned to Paris, the Queen-Mother had so ordered Affairs, that she sharply told Monsieur, that he must give over his Designs of espousing the Princess Mary de Gonzaga. Gaston had promised to leave it off, if he would put him in a way to do it honourably. To recompence this Complaisance, which he seemed to have for the Queen-Mother, he was declared General of the Army, intended to be sent into Italy, and the King presented him with \* Fifty Thousand Crowns to provide an Equipage necessary for that Expedition: But he, in one Evening, lost the best Part of that Sum. The Duke of Orleans further consented, that the Duke of Mantua should cause his Daughter to come home to him, and that she should depart within Fifteen Days after he was gone to head the Army.

\* Siri Mem.

Rec. T. 6.

P. 589. faith

an Hundred

Thousand.

In the interim many Expresses come from the Duke of Mantua, to give Intelligence of the great Extremity Casal was reduced to, and to communicate a Project for a Treaty, which he believed he might make with the Emperor. Advice came, that the City could not hold out reasonably beyond the Month of January next: But that the Citadel might defend it self for some Months, which being considered, there was hopes to disengage the Duke of Mantua, without his being obliged to a disadvantageous Treaty. This Prince had been esteemed in France for a Man of far greater Bravery and Prudence than he showed himself to be in Italy; where he found he could not extricate himself from troublesom Affairs, neither by Sword nor Treaty. Being perpetually plunged in these Irresolutions, he could not bring himself into a Condition to execute anything. In France he had been very great with Fa-

ther

that *Joseph*, who like himself was full of Chimerical Designs, and they two had between them projected the Conquest of the *Morea*, and all the *Ottoman* Empire. He gave Orders to *Senior Bido*, to go to *Paris* at the end of the Year, to conferr with this Father, and to induce the Cardinal by his means to hasten the Succors. All these endeavours had been vain, if *D. Gonzales* had known how to attack *Casal* as he ought to have done, or had they furnished him with more Money from *Spain*. But the obstinate Resistance of this Place, and the want of Money, which made his Troops diminish every Day, so perplexed him, that he intreated the Catholick King to recal him. He also endeavourd to have a Conference with the Duke of *Mantua*, but there was so much difficulty in that Project, that it took no Effect.

At the beginning\* of the Year 1629. Count *Nassau* 1629. after a Treaty with the Duke of *Savoy*, the Duke de *Guastalla*, and *D. Gonzales*, wrote to the Duke of *Mantua* to bring him to a Resolution of depositing, since *Spain* and *Savoy* were already disposed to surrender what they had taken into the Hands of the Emperor. The Duke, who expected Succours from *France*, sought still to gain time, † by saying, that the Emperor, and the † Kings of *France* and *Spain*, having entred into a Negotiation concerning that Affair, he would know their Sentiments before he proceeded farther. The Count made answer the same day, that he had no Orders to wait any longer, and that if the Duke would not accept of what he had proposed, he would declare the Treaty to be broken. The Duke pretended, that that need not be any hindrance to the continuance of the Treaty, but the Count would give no ear to it.

After this, there seemed nothing further to be done by the Imperial Commissary, but to put the Duke of *Mantua* under the Ban of the Empire. But as that was to engage the Emperor and the *Spaniards* to execute that Sentence by force, which could not be very easie if the King of *France* should send an Army into *Italy*. The *Milanese* being slenderly furnished with Troops, or Ammunitions, or Provisions, that Sentence was suspend-

1628.  
The 3d of  
January. See  
Siri Mem.  
Rec. P. 364

The 4th  
of January.]



1629. ed till it might more clearly appear, how the Affair might be managed with less hazard.

The King who had declared the Duke of Orleans  
 \* Bassomp. \* General of the Army for Italy, at the Solicitation of  
 Mem. T. 2. the Queen-Mother, now repented that he had given  
 P. 521. him that Employ, on the Thoughts that his Brother

might acquire so much Glory in Italy, as would eclipse his own. He was so strangely possessed with this Opinion, that the Vexation it gave him hindred his Sleep.

\* 3 January. \* Going to Chalot where the Cardinal was, he told him, That he could not endure that Monsieur should go to Command the Army in Italy in Chief, and that he must contrive some way or other to take that Employ from him : The Cardinal answered, That he knew but one Expedient, which was, that the King must go himself in Person : But if he were resolved so to do, his Departure must be in eight Days at the farthest. The King replied, he would do it ; and from that time disposed himself for it, though he departed not so soon as the Cardinal had advised. Notwithstanding, Monsieur was to follow the King in quality of Lieutenant-General, with the Mareschals de Crequi, Bassompierre, and Schomberg. But another thing happened, which prevented him from accompanying the King, as the Sequel will shew. Valenzas, Thoiras, and d'Auriac were appointed *Mestres de Camp*.

On the Fifteenth of January the King came to the Parliament, where the Keeper of the Seals declared the Necessity His Majesty lay under to go and Succour the Duke of Mantua by Force of Arms, since Treaties had proved ineffectual, and might by their Prolongation cause the Ruine of that Prince. The Parliament, according to Custom, applauded the King's Design ; and confirmed several Declarations, proper to bring Money into the King's Coffers, which were totally exhausted by the Expences of the precedent Year. The King published an *Amnesty* through all the Huguenot Cities, and to all of that Party, who should within Fifteen Days after Publication accept of the Pardon which he offered to them, not excluding Rohan and Soubize. It was believed that the Huguenots, who plainly might see

see that it was impossible for them to make farther resistance, would lay down their Arms, and not any longer persist to maintain a desperate Cause. 1629.

On the morrow the King began his Journey towards *Dauphine*, though there fell a great deal of Snow; and two days after the Cardinal followed him. Monsieur was advanced with the King as far as *Lyons*, but instead of following he went to *Dombes*, and from thence returned to *Paris*. He told \* the *Mareschal Bassompierre*, \* *Bassomp.* before he left the Road to *Dauphine*, That he would have *Mem. T. 2.* no Employ in the Army, since Cardinal Richlieu was there, P. 523. who would not only execute his Charge, but the King's also: That the Cardinal, the last Year, went before *Roche*, and constrained the King against his Will to go thither, only to deprive his Brother of the Command.

In the mean time the King and the Cardinal being arrived at *Grenoble*, \* they departed in a very bad Season to come to the Foot of the *Alps*, which was covered with Snow: As soon as they arrived there with the Army, whose March was exceeding painful, they sent the Commander *de Valençis* to the Duke of *Savoy*, to demand Passage and Victuals for the Army, which consisted of about Twenty-four Thousand Foot, and Two Thousand five hundred Horse. The King would have Security for the Passage and Victuals for ready Money, in recompence whereof he offered to give *Trino* to the Duke of *Savoy* with Lands in *Montferrat*, which should yield him Twelve Thousand Gold Crowns in annual Rent, provided he would renounce all Pretensions he might have on the *Dutchy*. *Charles Emanuel* shewed himself disposed to satisfy the King, but sought by all ways he could to delay the Execution of his Promises, and in the mean time fortified the Passages as much as possibly he could. He also made divers Propositions to the King by the Count *de Verrue*, which did not at all relate to the Business in hand, and further, the Count declared he had no Power to conclude any thing. \* *The 2 Feb. Bassomp. T. 2. P. 524. Crc. Siri T. 6. P. 603.*

In the interim, as the Design of the Duke was easily perceived, to be for nothing but to gain time, to Fortifie the Passes, or to make *Casal* fall into the Hands

1629)

The 4th  
March.

of the Spaniards) the Army daily advanced. Being come to *Chaumont*, which is not far from *Susa*; the Prince of *Piedmont* came thither \* to conferr with the Cardinal. That Prelate pressed him, to grant the King his Desires, rather than oblige him to force his Passage, and the Prince seemed to be confounded with his Reasons, but could make no Conclusion, without acquainting the Duke his Father. He went to communicate to him what had passed between him and the Cardinal, and return with Orders from the Duke, but instead of bringing them himself, he sent the Count *de Verrue* on the morrow, who said, that the Prince not finding his Father at *Rivoli*, as he supposed was gone to *Turin* to speak with him, and therefore they must expect no News from him that Day. He added, That the Duke his Master, though indisposed, was resolved to wait in Person on the King, and would be brought in a Chair, rather than make any further delay. The Cardinal was too cunning not to discover so palpable a Subterfuge, and therefore pressed so hard upon the Count, to draw out of him the Duke's Intentions, that at last he declared, that if the King would suffer his Highness to keep what he had taken in *Montferrat*, as the Spaniards had done, the Passes should be instantly open to the Royal Army. The Cardinal rejected this Proposition, and said; *That knowing the King's Justice and Generosity, he was assured his Majesty would reject it. And that there was a vast difference between what the Duke of Savoy had received from the Spaniards, in favour of a manifest Usurpation, and what he might hope for from the King, who was come to relieve a Prince who was his Allie, and not to ruine him: But he would not delay to acquaint his Majesty with what he had proposed.*

The Cardinal then received various Intelligences, which gave him to understand, that the Troops of *Gonxales* were advancing as fast as he could be, and that some of them were already entred into *Susa*. Wherefore he began to fear, that if longer time were given to the Duke of *Savoy*, it would be a difficult Task to force the Passage. After he had held a Council of War with the three Marshalls of *France* who were present,

sent, he was resolv'd on the morrow the 6th of March, to attack the Barricadoes which the Duke had made on the way to *Susa*, in the narrowest Place between two Mountains. They first got Cognizance of them by a Man whom they sent to *Susa*, on Pretence of a Letter to the Count de *Verrue*, or in his Absence to the Governor of the Place. This Man acquainted them with what he had seen, and thereupon they formed the Attack. The Cardinal wrote to the King the Evening before, and the King march'd all Night in bad Weather to come to *Chaumont*, whither he arriv'd very early in the Morning.

About Seven of the Clock the King and the Cardinal appear'd in the Field of Battle, and attack'd the Palliades in the Front, whilst the other Troops pass'd on the Tops of the Mountains to the Right and Left. These last no sooner appear'd on the Flanks of the *Piedmonteses*, but they fled, and in a Rout, gave up the Passage to the Royal Forces, who pursu'd them with so much Vigour, that if the *French* Generals would, their People might have entred *Susa* Pell-mell with the Fugitives, but the King would not suffer it, to prevent the Pillaging of the City; the *French* contented themselves with a Lodgment near the Gates, and the Duke of *Savoy* not believing it able to defend it self, order'd the Governor to surrender the next Day. As for the Duke he retir'd with all haste imaginable, and was almost beset round with the Forlorn of the *French* Army. So the *French* made themselves Masters, in a few hours without any loss, of a Passage, which might have been defended against the greatest Army; if the Duke of *Savoy* had taken better measures, and had as much Skill in the Art of making War, as he had readiness to attempt it. The Glory which he had acquired by the retreat of the Marquis d'*Uxelles* vanish'd quite, and he was necessitated soon after to sing another Tune altogether different to that of the proceeding Year.

The Eighth of March the Marshalls de *Cregu* and *Bassompierre* (for *Schomberg* had received a Wound by a Musquet-shot) pass'd the *Durè*, and lodg'd themselves at *Bussilongo*. The King, before he advanced further,



1629. sent the Marquis of *Seneterre* to *Turin*, to Compliment his Sister the Princess of *Piedmont*, and at *Seneterre's* return the *Mareschals* who were advanced, had Orders to Enterprize nothing, till the said Marquis had spoken with the Duke of *Savoy* to offer him Peace, if he would agree to let the Army pass as far as *Casal*, and furnish it with Victuals for ready Money. The Duke of *Savoy* who expected something worse, was very glad to come off so cheap, and on the Eleventh of *March* sent the Prince of *Piedmont* to *Susa*, where the following Articles were agreed upon.

First, The Duke of *Savoy* promised for the present and time to come, to give free Passage through his Territories to the Armies of the King of *France* to go to *Monferrat*, and to the Relief of *Casal*, and furnish them with Provisions of Victuals necessary.

Secondly, He promised to suffer to be brought all Corn and other Provisions, which could be found and bought in his Country, to be put into *Casal*.

Thirdly, He promised further, to take such a Course as *Don Gonzales* should raise the Siege of *Casal*, and retire with his Troops out of *Monferrat*, and promised to attempt nothing for the future against the Lands of the Duke of *Mantua*, and should in six Weeks produce the Ratification of this Promise by his Catholick Majesty, with Engagement of his Word to leave the Duke of *Mantua* in the peaceable Possession of his Estates.

Fourthly, He promised to enter into a League with the Pope, the King, and the Republick of *Venice*, and the Duke of *Mantua*, for the Defence of the Estate of the last, and for the Preservation of the Peace of *Italy*, and to subscribe this League as soon as Three of those Potentates had subscribed.

Fifthly, For the King's assurance of the Execution of these Promises he should put into his Majesty's Hands the Cittadel of *Susa*, and the Castle of *St. Francis*.

Sixthly, The King for his part did engage to obtain for the Duke of *Savoy*, from the Duke of *Mantua*, *Trino*, with Lands of Fifteen Thousand Gold Crowns of annual Revenue. Until which, his Majesty consented that the Duke should

keep

keep what he had taken in Montferrat, on Condition that he should surrender it, when the King should restore to him the Cittadel of Susa, and the Castle of St. Francis. 1629.

The King put a Garrison into these two Places, and Six days after was the Ratification of D. Gonzales brought with this Proviso, that the King of France should declare, that he did not come into Italy to invade the States of the King his Master. The King declared it immediately, and the Spaniards, by a Treaty of which the Duke of Savoy was Guarrantee, promised to be entirely gone out of Montferrat by the Fourth of April, and to leave the Duke of Mantua in Peace, whether he received Investiture from the Emperor or not.

Haste was made to conclude this Treaty, because the Army wanted Provisions, the Victuallers not having been able to bring as much as they promised, by reason of the bad ways and passing of Rivers. If the Duke and D. Gonzales had had more Vigour and better Conduct, this one thing had been enough to Ruine the King's Army; but they were so unable to make any Resistance, and fear had so strong'y seized them, that he might pass what he pleased upon them, without their being serviceable to themselves. So the Usurpers of the States of the Duke of Mantua, having had all the time which was necessary to make themselves Masters, and to put them in a Condition to keep what they had got, whilst the French Army was busied at the Siege of Rochel, were driven away only by the March of the King's Army, in a time when every thing seemed as contrary to him, as favourable to the Enemies. But these are not the only Persons who have been seen, with a gaiety of Humour, to undertake an unjust War, and afterwards shamefully abandon, without any necessity, an Enterprize in which they were engaged.

The King staid some time at Susa, to see the Execution of the Treaty, before he would repass the Mountains, in the mean time at the \* beginning of April, Thoiras was sent away with Three Thousand Foot and Four Hundred Horse to the Service of the Duke of Mantua, and to oppose any new Enterprizes which

\* At the end of the Month. See Bassomp. Mem. T. 2, P. 542. List of Thoiras L. 2. c. 6.

1629. might be made against him. The King whilst he staid at *Susa*, received the extraordinary Ambassadors of almost all the Princes of *Italy*, and there concluded two very important Treaties. One was the League with  
 \* 8 April. \* the Republick of *Venice* and the Duke of \* *Savoy*, for  
 \* 31 March. the Preservation of the Duke of *Montmaur's* Estates, and the repose of *Italy*; the other was the Conclusion of a Peace with *England*. King *Charles I.* after a great deal of Trouble and vast Expences, was obliged to make Application to the *French*, by the *Venetians*, to obtain a disadvantageous Peace, which drew upon him the Contempt of Strangers, as well as of his own Subjects. He had endeavoured to accommodate Matters with *Leuis XIII.* whilst he was before *Rochel*, by Mediation of the Ambassadors of the King of *Denmark* and the States-General of the United Provinces: But Answer was given to their Ambassadors, that if they had Power from the King of *England* to ask a Peace for him, and to offer such Satisfaction as he ought to make to *France* to obtain it, a Negotiation should be entred into with them, but no otherwise. So brisk an Answer plainly shewed, that *Charles* was but little feared; and that he must be forc'd in the end to come to what *France* demanded. He promised by the Treary to confirm the Articles of the Contract of the Queen's Marriage. which he had so many times broken and accepted with so much meanness, and which, if there was any thing to be altered for the Service of the Queen, was to be done with the Consent of both Crowns. The Treaty was Signed the 24th of *April* by *Zorzo Zorzi* and *Louis Contarini* Ambassadors of *Venice*, who were empowered from *England*. The King before he departed from *Susa*, receiv'd a visit of *Charles Emanuel*, of *Victor Amedeo* his Son, and of the Princess of *Piedmont* his Spouse. After which, without tarrying for the absolute Execution of the Treaty, which he had just made with the Duke of *Savoy*, he departed \* from *Susa*, where he was uneasie, because he could not go a Hunting between those Mountains, and went to block up *Privas* in *Vivres*, where the *Hugonots* had not yet laid down their Arms, and where were the Duke of *Rohan's* bravest Soldiers. He brought  
 \* 28 April. very

very few Troops with him, and made use at present 1629. of those the Duke of Montmorency had already. The Cardinal staid at *Susa* with the greatest Part of the Army, in quality of General, and the Marshals *Cregui* and *Bassompierre* as Lieutenant-Generals.

But all things being almost executed a few days after, the \* Cardinal and the Marshal de *Bassompierre* repassed the Mountains with the Army, the Marshal de *Cregui* remaining in *Piedmont*, in quality of the King's Lieutenant-General beyond the Mountains. As soon as the Army arrived, they straitned that Place with much more Vigour. The Twenty-sixth of May the King became Master of all the Outworks, after the loss of a great Number of People by the vigorous resistance of Marquis of *St. Andrew Mont-brun*, who had thrown himself into it. But having staid too long to Capitulate, to obtain honourable Conditions, and it being impossible to defend it any longer, the Garrison and the Inhabitants endeavoured to save themselves by Night in the Neighbouring Fort, and in the Mountains; which caused the King's Army entering the Town to Plunder it entirely, nor did they commit less violence against those which they found there, which happened to *Negrepeise* in the Presence of *Lewis the Just*. The Castle, in which were Four Hundred Men, surrendered also at Discretion, after they had been twice demanded to Surrender with safety of their Lives only, and as the King gave little Quarter to those who submitted after that manner, \* it is said that a Man belonging to *Privas*, named *Chamblan*, put Fire to the Powder which destroyed a great number of Souldiers, and a great number of others threw themselves down from the top of the Castle to the bottom, where instead of receiving Quarter, the King's People cut their Throats. \* The King himself caused a number to be hanged in his Presence, sporting himself in the Destruction of those miserable Wretches, under pretence that they were the best of the Duke de *Roban's* Troops. He would have inflicted the same Punishment on the Marquis of *St. André*, if he to whom he had surrendered himself, and who had promised him Life, had not powerfully interceded for him.

11 May.

\* Aubery  
Life of the  
Card. Lib.  
3. c. 7.

\* Sirs Mem.  
Rec. T. 6. P.  
670.



1629. him. \* The Panegyriste of the Cardinal say, that being in his Bed, and having a Tertian Ague when the City was sacked, he could not hinder the Cruelties which were there committed, but being advertised of them, he mounted on Horseback, sick as he was, with Two Hundred Gentlemen, to endeavour to save the remainder of this unfortunate City, and that he effectually saved the Life and Honour of many Persons, but the City was totally burned. Though it is certain the Garrison of *Privas* committed a fault unpardonable, to drive things to that Extremity, yet the King who ought to have spared the Blood of his Subjects committed a greater, in not offering them tolerable Conditions before they were reduced to utter Despair. But there is little Pity or Clemency in fearful, distrustful, and superstitious Souls, and the most cruel Actions are to them but small Faults, when they do not contradict their Passions.

\* Aubery  
ibid.

After the taking of this Place, *Marillac* was made Marechal of *France*, and the Army marched against *Alets*, a City of *Sevennes*, which after some resistance surrendred the 7th of *June*, the Duke of *Roban* endeavouring in vain to relieve it. He could not hinder the taking of divers other little Places, And after this, this General of an unhappy Party, began to think seriously of an accommodation. He embraced the Opportunity which the Cardinal offered him for it, by sending an Express to him, to exhort him to return to his Obedience, if he would avoid inevitable Ruine, and expose all the Party with him to the same. They offered to him and his Brother Pardon for what was passed, the Enjoyments of their Goods, and Liberty of Conscience to all the Hugonots, on condition that the Fortifications of *Nimes*, *Castres d'Uzes* and *Montauban*, which were not yet in the King's Power, should be demolished. This Treaty was Signed at *Alets* the 27th of *June*. And the Duke of *Roban* could never obtain to be admitted to throw himself at the King's Feet, though he had treated with the Cardinal about it. He was further bound to depart the Kingdom, and not to return till the King should think fit, and a short time after he Embark'd at *Marseilles* to go to *Venice*. The

The Treaty being concluded, \* the King entred the City of *Nimes*, where he published a Declaration which he had promised to the *Hugonots* by the Treaty of *Aless*. By this Declaration he pardoned all things past to *Reban* and *Saubize*, and left them the Enjoyments of their Estates, and the same to all those who had born Arms under them. He ordained moreover that the Exercise of the Pretended Reformed Religion, should be left free to the *Hugonots*; but to take away all means of raising new Troubles, all the Fortifications of the Towns and Places, where they were in great number, should be razed, and that only the compass of the Walls should be left; that in the mean time for Security of the Word they had given, to suffer the Places appointed to be demolished, the Hostages which were taken for that end should remain in a Place of Security. That the Catholick Religion should be every where restored, and that the *Hagonots* should restore the Ecclesiastical Goods, the Churches and Monasteries which they had seized during the Wars.

\* Aubery  
Life of the  
Card. lib. 13.  
c. 8.

The Cardinal \* had still the Tertian Ague, nevertheless he was of Opinion, that it was convenient the King should return to *Paris*, either out of fear lest the King should be prejudiced by the Heats of *Languedoc*, where the Plague was rise in many Places, or because it was not convenient that the Queen-mother should be so long alone. As for himself he remained in *Languedoc*, to cause the Fortifications of the *Hugonot* Places to be razed, which yet were standing, and especially those of *Montauban*.

\* Aubery  
ibid. c. 9.

\* The care of this ought to belong to the Prince of *Conde*, who commanded the Troops which were posted about that City. But those of *Montauban*, who were incensed against him, because of the Spoil which he made round their Town, and the hatred which he had for the *Hugonots*, more out of Capricio than Devotion, which he had shown by the cruel Manner with which he treated those which fell into his Hands, refused to effectuate the Capitulation, that they might not have to do with a Man who hated them, and loved nothing but Money. They privately made the Cardinal acquainted with the Reason of their delay,

\* Siri Mem.  
Rec. T. 6.  
P. 724.

and

1629. and gave him to know : That if he would come himself to execute the Treaty of Peace, he should be welcome, and might see the Obedience they would render to the King's Declaration,

He therefore made the Prince of *Conde* voluntarily resign his Employ, on pretext of an indisposition which befel him, which had rendred him incapable of further Fatigue.

\* *Aubery*  
*Life of the*  
*Card. Lib.*  
 3. c. 11.

In the mean time \* he sent the King's Declaration to the Parliament of *Tholouse*, to be established there, and that without any modification : For it was feared that the Parliament would not allow it there, by reason of the Sanctions they had made against the *Hugonots*. This was made on the Eighteenth of *August*, as the Cardinal desired, that he might not occasion any Despair in those of *Montauban*. After some Negotiations with the Inhabitants of that City (who would willingly have kept some part of their Fortifications, but at last consented to all he demanded of them) the Cardinal made his Entry there on the Twenty-first of this Month, with Two Thousand Foot and some Horse, which the *Marschal de Bassompierre* Commanded, and which were to go out again with the Cardinal. He staid there two Days, and was received with extraordinary Applause, considering the People, who naturally had no respect for Ecclesiastical Catholics. But the happy Effects of almost all Affairs which the Cardinal had undertaken since his Ministry, and the great Authority he had with the King, beside the evil Condition of the *Hugonot* Affairs, and perhaps the knowledge they had, that the Cardinal loved to be praised, caused them to Flatter as well as others. There was no Honour which they were not ready to give him, and not only the Magistrates but the Ministers also Complimented him (in the Name of their Consistory) in the most submissive terms they could invent. He told them, amongst other Things, That it was not the Custom of France to receive them as the Body of a Church, on any Occasion or in any Place whatsoever, but he received them as Men of Learning : That under that Notion they should always be welcome to him, and that he would endeavour to demonstrate to them on all Occa-

Occasions, that the difference of Religions should never hinder him from doing them all sorts of good Offices : That he made no difference between the Subjects, but by Fidelity, which he hoped was always equal in both Religions, he treated all the King's Subjects alike.

1629.

*Uzes* and *Castres* were dealt with as *Montauban*, and so the *Hugonots* Party found themselves deprived of all their Cities of surety, and reduced to depend purely on the King's Will, who kept his Declarations only as far as the Ministers conceived them beneficial. From this time the Party decreased insensibly, and notwithstanding the exact Obedience which they paid to the Sovereign, they laboured their Ruine incessantly, till under another Reign they brought it to nothing, by the Revocation of the Edict of *Nants*. The Ecclesiasticks, untractable to all those who opposed their Sentiments, perswaded *Lewis XIII.* that the Welfare of the State required the taking from the *Hugonots* all Places which they held, and they would have it believed, that Liberty of Conscience was incompatible with the Peace of the Kingdom. They pretended at least, that Piety obliged *Lewis XIII.* to consummate their Perdition : But the Interest of the State being found not conformable to those Maxims, the Cardinal confined himself to the taking of those Places, which they had kept until his Administration. Afterward, to satisfy the Ecclesiasticks, they were entirely ruined, without any consideration of the Damage which the State suffered thereby, as long as their grand Enemies could find their account in their Ruine.

After he had received the Complements of the Parliament and University of *Tholouse*, during the two Days which he staid at *Montauban*, the Cardinal took his way to *Fountainbleau* where the Court was. But before his departure, he beheld the Inhabitants of *Montauban* themselves destroy their Fortifications with all the readiness he could have wished : For they had requested, that no Souldiers might be sent to do it, and had promised to do it with all possible diligence.

Before we come to speak of the Affairs of France this Year with Strangers, we must return to the Duke of



1629. of *Orleance*, who became very troublesome to the Court, which in fine caused a misunderstanding between the Queen-Mother and the Cardinal.

The Duke of *Mantua* seeing the King was disposed to succour him, on Condition he would cause his Daughter to come into *Italy*, sent a Gentleman into *France* to give his Majesty Thanks, and to bring the Princess to *Mantua*. The Day of her Departure was fixed on the Tenth of *March*, and the Queen-Mother believed that at last she had rid her self of that trouble, which had been her infinite vexation: But the Dutchess of *Longueville* secretly gave notice to the Duke of *Orleans*, otherwise discontented with the Cardinal's going to the Army, whereby he saw he should have but the meer Title of Lieutenant-General. That Prince upon that Intelligence quitted the Road of *Dauphine* to return to *Paris*, and to oppose himself to the Departure of the Princess of *Mantua*. The Queen-Mother coming to the knowledge of this, sent to him to return to his Command, since she found that she could not hinder a Father to dispose of his Daughter as he thought convenient; or at least if he would not return to the King, that he should not come to *Paris*. Monsieur stopped at *Montereau*, with design, as is said, to seize on *Mary de Gonzaga* on the way, and to go with her out of the Kingdom; and he had taken her in execution of his Design the Eleventh of *March*, but that the Queen-Mother having notice of it, had in the Night sent her Guards to *Colmier*, and three empty Coaches, with Orders to take the Dutchess of *Longueville* and the Princess of *Mantua*, and with their Wills or by Force to bring them to the *Bois de Vincennes*.

At the same time the Queen-Mother sent to tell Monsieur, who was just going to *Fountainbleau*, that she thought it necessary that *Mary de Gonzaga* should be brought to *Paris*; with the Reasons which had obliged her to it. *Marillac*, Keeper of the Seals, brought this News to the Duke of *Orleance*, who presently fell into such a Passion, that he was so imprudent as to confess that he had a design to carry away the Princess of *Mantua* and to marry her, after he had demanded their Majesties

Majesties leave; *Marillac* returned to give account to the Queen what Monsieur had said, and went the next Day to *Fontainebleau*, to tell him that the Princess was at *Bois de Vincennes*, which they would not give any account of before it was executed. This News put the Duke into an excessive Rage, whereby he shewed that he would be revenged for this Affront, yet without losing his Respect to the Queen-Mother. But he said, that he would go retire himself to his own Demesnes, and stay at *Blois* or *Orleanse* until they had made him Satisfaction.

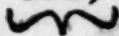
In the mean time the Queen-Mother sent with all speed an Express to the King, to give him an account of that piece of Authority she had taken upon her, and for fear lest it should come to his Ears another way, before he had received her Dispatches, she forbid on pain of Death any Post-Horse should be Lett to any whatsoever, but those who had her Pass-ports. The Friends and Kindred of the Dutchess of *Longueville* highly complained of this violent Proceeding with which she was treated, and to appease them they had leave to go see her: The Princess was not lodged in the Tower, but in the Palace of *Bois de Vincennes*, and treated with great Respect.

It must be observed by the by, that the Duke of *Vendosme* was all this while most strictly detained at *Vincennes*, that the Prior \* his Brother died in the Month of *February*, and that the King, willing to give the Cardinal of *Richlieu* the two best Abbies which the Prior had been possessed of, the Cardinal refused them, because, said he, *that being in the King's Council, when the Interest of his State constrained him to arrest the Person of the Grand-Prior; it seemed to him to be contradictory to the Heart which it had pleased God to give him (to him the Cardinal) to gain by his Misfortunes, and to take part of his Spoils.* If this refusal was not an effect of the Cardinal's Generosity, as he would have it believed, it was at least of his Prudence, for fear it should be said, That the Disgrace of the Grand-Prior proceeded from the covetous Desire which he had to possess his Benefices,

\* Mem. of  
Aubery T. 1.  
P. 305, 306.

The

1629.



The King and the Cardinal having received the Dispatches of the Queen-Mother, were extremely angry at the violent manner with which she had satisfied her Passion against *Mary de Gonzaga*. In the Interim they thought fit to dissemble it, outwardly approved what she had done, and gave Orders in the mean time for the managing of Monsieur, that he might not be driven into Despair by so rude a treatment. All Princes also thought it very hard, that the Queen-Mother was so obstinately bent against the Marriage of the Prince with that Princess, and that she took upon her such an Authority in the State, as to arrest the Daughter of a Sovereign Prince unknown to the King. Nevertheless the Queen-Mother, naturally obstinate, continued firm to her first Resolutions, though she saw the Court disapproved the excessive Passion, which she shewed to have Monsieur Married to the Princess of *Flour*. The Cardinal, who had laid the Foundations of his own Authority more solidly than on the bare Favour of the Queen-Mother, by the Reduction of *Rachel*, and the Delivering of *Casal*, had no further Necessity of her for the maintenance of his Power, yet had reason to fear, lest she should become too great, and augment the Aversion which the Duke of *Orleans* had for him, if he should too violently oppose his Desires. Upon this Consideration he did not give himself the trouble to cross the Designs of the Queen-Mother's Enemies, who failed not to represent to the King, that this Princess sought only her own Interest in this Affair, and contradicted the Sentiment of all *France*, to whom the Duke of *Orleans*'s Affection did not appear so unreasonable. The Queen perceiving with what Coldness the Cardinal espoused her Interests, began to hate him more heartily than ever she had loved him.

The King having repassed the Mountains, and the Cardinal quickly following him, as I have before said, his Majesty thought it to little purpose to detain the Princesses any longer Prisoners at *Vincennes*, and the Cardinal also openly declared the same, which raised the Queen-Mother's Indignation to an excessive height against him. In the Interim they were to be delivered the

1619.

the 15th of May, upon a new promise Monsieur made, never to marry *Mary de Guise*, without the Consent of their Majesties. The Count of *Gagaldi* was before this come from *Mantua* to demand of the Queen, that he might be permitted to conduct that Princess to the Duke her Father; But the fear the Queen was in, that Monsieur might have some design on foot, deferr'd her giving a definitive Answer till the King's return. Upon the King's return, the Duke of *Orleans* avoided his fight, and retired to *Joinville*, a place in *Champagne*, which belonged to the Duke of *Guise*. A rumour was spread abroad, that he designed to go into *Lorraine*, or into *Flanders*, till they had given him satisfaction: But this Conduct, instead of inducing the King to do something for him, seemed to render him more contemptible at Court: and the King refused to grant him any favour which he would not ask in a submissive manner. The King being indeed absolute in his Kingdom, so that none of those who were discontented, durst show the least mark of it, or offer their services to the Duke of *Orleans*, he regarded but little what that Prince would do. The Queen-Mother who wished for his return to Court, knew not how to take it, because the Prince refused to come back, except they would give him some other satisfaction, in case they would not consent to his Marriage: And the King, by the Cardinal's Counsel, would give ear to no treaty with his Brother. She could not resolve to suffer *Mary de Guise* to depart, whom he farther had again demanded, and the King had sent to treat about this affair, till the Cardinal should return from *Lyon*.

In the interim, the Duke of *Orleans*, provoked at his being seemingly despised, retired to *Nancy* to the Duke of *Lorraine*; the Queen-Mother was so transported at that news, that she was said to be let blood, a little after she heard it. All *France* blamed her harshness to the Prince, whom she pretended to govern like a Child, and the King himself gave out some words, which shewed him of that opinion; which much afflicted the Queen-Mother, who hoped to make use of his authority to reduce the Prince to his duty. Soon after

In September.



1630.

\* Aubery  
Life of the  
Card. Lib.

3. c. 17.

† Siri Mem.

Rec. T. 6.

P. 727, 728.

\* the Duke of Orleans, who durst not complain neither of the King, nor the Queen-Mother, made a manifesto, in which he accused Cardinal Richlieu, and the Marquis d'Effrat, to be the cause of many disorders which were observed in the State. \* This Carriage of Gaston gave occasion to the Cardinal to refuse the Queen-Mother to concern her self in the business of the Marriage. The Duke of Orleans at the same time wrote a long Letter to the King, wherein he set down the subjects of his Discontents with the Court, but did not dwell long upon that Article. He above all complained against the Cardinal, that he was called *Major of the Palace at that time*, and that he was said to Usurp the Authority Royal. That Prince pretended that if he would come back to Court, his allowance should be augmented, and that he should have a good sum of ready Money to pay his Debts, and the Government of a Province, be admitted into the Cabinet Council, and declared the Kings Lieutenant-General of all his Armies, where his Majesty did not Command himself in person; that the Duke of Vendesme should be released and restored to his Government of Britany; and in fine, that divers things should be bestowed on the Duke of Bellegarde, the President le Coigneux and to Pyrlaurens his Principal Counsellors.

\* The 13th  
of Sept. by  
Siri.

\* This is  
taken out of  
Aubery, who  
yet refers it  
another  
time.

The Cardinal returned to Court \* at the beginning of Autumn, but was very coldly received by the Queen-Mother, who would not vouchsafe to look upon the Marechals de Bassompierre and Schomberg, whom the Cardinal presented to her. \* The Queen then asked him how he did; he answered, *that he was better than some people who were there would have him*. The Queen blushed, understanding the words, but feigned not to take notice of them, laughing to see Cardinal Bernike come in in a short habit; upon which the Cardinal said to her, *that he could wish himself as much in her good esteem, as him whom she laughed at*. There were others words which passed between them, which ended by the arrival of the King, who greatly caressed the Cardinal, and led him to his Closet, where that Prelate gave him an account of the manner of the Queen-Mother's receiving him, and begg'd his permission to retire home; but the King

King answered, that he would reconcile them, and speaking to his Mother she seemed to consent to it. So the next day \* the Cardinal was to wait on the Queen, to endeavour to justify himself in her opinion. But that Princess reproached him of ingratitude, and the malice he had to abandon her in the affair of Gaston's Marriage. They came to so hot words, that the King having notice of it run to excuse the Cardinal. The Queen being provoked, declared, that she would not have him meddle any more with her affairs, nor come into her presence. Some \* Historians say, that this was by a Billet which she sent him, and that the Cardinal, having informed the King at the same time, protested, that if the Queen should take from him the superintendence of her House, he should be obliged to leave the Court, where he should not be look'd upon, but as a faithless and ingrateful Servant: but be it as it would, the King took care to reconcile him with his Mother, at least in outward appearance,

In the mean time, she complained \* in private, to those to whom she could speak with Confidence, that the Cardinal hinder'd her recovering any satisfaction from Monsieur, under pretext that by augmenting her authority that of the King's was diminished. The Cardinal, as the Queen-Mother believed, did two things; one, that he flatter'd the covetous and jealous humour of the King; the other, that he engag'd Monsieur to demand with greater obstinacy that he might be permitted to marry *Mary de Gonzaga*, since they would give him no other satisfaction. She also feared, that the Cardinal by this means, would gain the favour of the House of *Longueville*, which made him hope to marry his Niece *Combalet* to the Count of *Soissons*: that after he had in a manner caus'd that Monsieur should marry the Princess of *Mantua*, to appease him altogether he would cause all he required to be granted, or at least the greatest part: And that the King being so fond of the Cardinal was perswaded that he had preserved his Crowns, and labour'd only for his glory, and that she had no authority with the King as his Mother.

1630.

\* The 14th  
of Septemb.  
in Siri T.6.  
P.728.\* Aubery.  
Lib.4. c.4Siri Mem.  
Rec. P.781.

1629.

She said, that the Cardinal was become so insolent, that he had let her understand, that it was now time that she might be contented to depend on him: That he had said, That for all her Choler against him, he would not cease to be her Servant, and do her all good offices with the King her Son, which she stood in need of; because People did not stick to say, that she thought of nothing but the continuance of her own authority, though with the disadvantage of his Majesty's, and that by her excessive rigour she had constrained Monsieur to withdraw himself: she also added, that the Cardinal had said, that she ought to remember that she might stand in need of him.

Another time, as she affirmed, the Cardinal would have surprized her, by telling her, That since she was concerned in honour to exclude Mary de Gonzaga, yet she was not to be counselled to consent to it, but that to appease the Duke of Orleans, and to hinder the Kingdom's thinking it strange, that all things he desir'd were denied him, she might reasonably shut her Eyes, and permit, without giving her consent, that Monsieur might privately marry that Princess, because she might gain this advantage by it, that if she should have no Children, as the Queen-Mother was always of opinion, it would be easie to declare that marriage null, and so entirely dissolve it. But the Queen-Mother had rejected with reason that Counsel, because she said the barrenness of the Princess of Mantua being very incertain if she had Children, doubt might be made of their Legitimacy, which might cause great disturbances.

\* *Sims Mem.*  
Rec. T. 6. P.  
784.

During these contests \* the Cardinal appeared extremely pensive, because the most indifferent persons blamed him for ingratitude to the Queen-Mother; and that if the King should die, as many Astrologers foretold, he should find himself exposed to the anger of that Princess, and perhaps also to that of the new King, with whom it would be difficult to reconcile himself. Otherwise a great many Persons of the best Rank, and especially the House of Guise would endeavour to make the Cardinal give place to the Queen.

\* 2 *Offob.*

About this time Peter \* Berullus died, who was the Queen-Mother's only Counsellor, and who was made Cardinal two years before. Cardinal de Richelieu did not

not love him, though he was an honest Man and of an exemplary life. He had treated more than once as a weak man, because of the Counsels he gave to the Queen-Mother in the King's absence. Above all he blamed the advice which *Berullus* had given to arrest the Princesses of *Longueville* and *Mantua*, as a dangerous Counsel and evil Consequence, and outrageous not only for the Princesses, but also to the person of Monsieur, and in effect, this imprisonment was not pardonable, because Monsieur's taking away the Princess of *Mantua* might have been otherwise hinder'd. All the world was convinced that the Queen-Mother sought to Reign as long as she lived, and assumed too much authority over her Sons. The King was so much assured of the anger of the Queen against Cardinal *Richelieu*, that it augmented the Confidence which he had in that Minister.

A while after, \* the King dispatched Letters-Patents in which after the praise of the Cardinal, he declared him principal Minister of State. The Cardinal had that function a little time after his admission into the Council; but as the Rank which he held above the other Ministers of State, was rather tack'd to the Dignity of Cardinal than to his Person; these Letters-Patent, to distinguish him from all others, gave him the title of *Principal Minister of State*, rather than that of *first*, which noted only the Rank.

During this, the Duke of *Bellegard* returned to the Court, on the behalf of the Duke of *Orleans*, to endeavour to obtain something for him, and to intreat the Queen-Mother not to be reconciled with the Cardinal, of whom Monsieur was absolutely resolved to be revenged; He also bad him tell her, that he would espouse what Princess her Majesty pleas'd. He agreed to return to *Paris*, and remain a while at *Orleans* without seeing the King, provided they would augment his allowance of an hundred thousand Liores in fund of Lands, which at last, was granted him, by assigning to him the Duchy of *Valois*, besides what he had already.

\* 21 Nov.  
See the  
Mem. of  
Aubery T. 1.  
P. 308.



1629. To return presently to Foreign Affairs, neither the House of *Austria*, nor the Duke of *Savoy*, had made peace with *France* by the Treaty of *Suse*, but only to divert the King from procedure in his assisting the Duke of *Mantua*, and to free themselves from the fear of an Army, which they were not in capacity to resist. It was reasonably to be suspected, immediately after the Treaty of *Suse*, that the Emperor had some design upon the Estates of the Duke of *Mantua*, because *Theires* \* was obliged to take *L'Altare* and *Roque Vignal* by force, where the Marquis *de Grana* was lodged with the Imperial Ensigns, refusing to acknowledge the Duke of *Nevers*.

\* History of  
Thecoiras,  
Lib. 2. c. 6. 7.

\* Siri Mem.  
Rec. T. 6.  
P. 380.

The Cardinal being in *Languedoc*, the Emperor sent the Count *de Merode* with sixteen thousand Foot and two thousand Horse to demand of the three Leagued *Grisons* the Passage of the *Valtelline*, and at the same time to seize it. The Count enter'd into the Country of the *Grisons*, took *Coire*, and put himself into a Condition to enter the *Milaneze* by the *Valtelline*. *Italy* was extremely surprized to see an Imperial Army, to execute the decree of an Emperor, which was despised before, because not maintained by force. The Emperor sent at the same time a Circular Letter to the Princes of *Germany*, dated the 9th of *June*, 1629. in the which he declared the motives which induced him to send an Army into *Italy*, which were the divers pretenders to the Duchy's of *Mantua* and *Montferrat*, who had filled *Italy* with Troops, for whose repose he was obliged to labour; the Journey of the King of *France* into *Piedmont*, with an Army; and the authority he had taken to make Treaties about the Fiefs which depended on the Empire, and to render himself Arbiter of the concerns, which could not be determined but by his Imperial Majesty. These reasons had obliged the Emperor to send an Army into *Italy*, to maintain his Rights, and create all due obedience to his decrees. *Ambrosio Spinola*, who remained some time in *Spain*, was also gone to take the Government of the *Milaneze*, and the conduct of the Spanish Forces in that Country.

Upon

Upon news of this, the Cardinal, to keep those advantages which he had lately gotten over the Spaniard, was resolved to send, as soon as possible, new succours to the Duke of Mantua. Orders were sent to the Marechal de Crequi, who was at Turin, to know of the Duke of Savoy, after what manner he pretended to Govern himself in this conjuncture, and whether he would assist the Duke of Mantua, as he was by the Treaty of Susa obliged to do. *Thoiras* also was ordered to retire to *Cazal* and *Ponzone* with the French Troops, which were spread up and down in divers places of *Montferrat*: and to the Ambassadors of the Crown with the Princes of Italy, and more especially to him who was at Venice, to forget nothing which might induce them to oppose the enterprises of the Imperialists and Spaniards.

The Duke of Savoy instead of disposing himself to observe the Articles of the Treaty of Susa, re-demanded that place of the King, by his Ambassador, feigning to be intirely for the Interests of France, but they were persuaded of the contrary, and so took no heed of granting what he demanded. The Governor of Milan and the Pope's Nuncio made divers Propositions; but as the Imperialists and the Spaniards sought for nothing but to seize on the States of the Duke of Mantua, under pretence to keep them in Deposit, until the Emperor had adjudged the Process which was between the Duke of Nevers and *Gustalla* all those Negotiations were unprofitable. From this time *Julio Mazarini*, who was afterwards Cardinal, took great pains to prevent things from coming to an open rupture.

In the mean time, *Rambold*, Count of *Collaito*, who was to Command the Imperial Army, arrived in the *Milanese*. He wrote to the Duke of Mantua, that if he would not willingly obey the decree of the Emperor, he had orders to enter with his Army, and take possession of his Estates. He was resolved to make an Invasion into the Duchy of Mantua with ten thousand Men, and to send about six thousand into *Montferrat*, without counting the Troops which he expected in the Country of the *Grisons*. About the end of September, he put himself into a posture to execute his threats:

1629. The Duke of *Mantua* not being sufficiently provided of Troops and Munitions to make a vigorous Resistance because the French Succors were not as yet come, and that the Republick of *Venice*, who was most Interested for the preservation of his Estates, succoured him but slowly and weakly.

\* *Siri Mem.*  
*Rec. T. 6.*  
*P. 747.*

The Generals of the \* Imperial Army, took up some time in consideration, whether they should enter into the *Manruan* before the Winter, because they were in doubt, whether they could make their Army subsist there, not knowing the Country well enough, and fearing that the Forces of the other Princes of *Italy* would cut off their Victuals: but as their Soldiers, who were not at all paid, and very ill entertained, Deserted every day in great numbers; they feared they should be out of condition to do any thing when the Winter was come. *Spinola* being consulted thereupon, was of opinion, that *Collalto* should presently attack *Mantua*, which he knew was not well provided: besides, if they gave time to the Duke, he would fortifie himself better, and draw in all the Provisions, which were yet in the Country, into the strong places. *Spinola* added to this, That he was ready to pay a Sum of Money to *Callalto*, if he readily would undertake the Enterprize. This Advice was followed, and the Imperialists, after a new Publication of the Emperor's Decree, entred upon the Lands of *Mantua*, and put all into a Fright and Consternation. The People, little acquainted with War, durst not resist, nor had they so much precaution as to save their effects.

*Spinola*, of his side, entering into *Montferrat*, seized of *Aigui*, of *Ponxon*, of *Roque Vignal*, of *Nissa de la Paille*, the French having abandoned all but *Cazal* and *Pontesture*, to which they reduced the Defence of *Montferrat*.

\* 20 *Octob.* The Generals for the Emperor took \* *Canetto*, (a place of extraordinary strength, and which the Duke of *Mantua* believed would have held out a long time) by the Treachery of *Angelo Corrado* a Noble Venetian, who was Governor, and who expected only to see the Imperial Army, that he might surrender himself, as he thought, with honour. The Garison of *Gazzuolo* would have assassinated

assassinated their Governor *Monteret*, if he would not have Surtender'd, which he was \* forced to do, though he had provisions for many Months, and the Place strong enough. *Governolo* was two days after taken by Storm, and the People, which were no way accustomed to War, submitted every where to the Imperial Arms.

*Aldringen* and *Galat*, Sergeant of Battel in the Imperial Army, being approach'd to *Mantua*, though it was extreamly bad weather, and the excessive Dirt of the Mantuan had made the ways unpassable, began to form the Siege of *Mantua*. This place was ill provided, and the Italian Soldiers so Raw and ill Disciplined, that the Germans made their Approaches, and took divers Posts without any great loss. Yet could they not hinder a Venetian Convoy from getting in, with some French Officers, which gave some Courage to the Duke, who knew not which way to turn himself. The Nuntio *Pancirolo* and *Mazarine*, would have propos'd a Cessation of Arms, but it was not possible to perswade the Imperialists, who believed they should be Masters of *Mantua* in a few days. They gave an Assault to the City, the 27th of *November*, but were repulsed. It appeared by this Siege that the places which the Imperialists had already taken in the State of *Mantua* had not fallen so easily into their hands, but by the Cowardice of the Commanders or Troops which were there: since *Mantua* which was neither well provided, nor well Fortified, escap'd them, since it had some Officers within and some few Foreign Troops able to resist.

Whilst things pass'd thus in *Italy*, the French Forces march'd towards *Susa*, and the King had design'd the Cardinal to command them. Some time after his departure an Agent of *Spain*, named *Navas*, who was to return to *Madrid*, \* coming to take leave of him, the Cardinal charg'd him to tell the Ministers of *Spain*, and particularly the *Conde de Olivarez*, That the King had always design'd to live in Peace with his Catholick Majesty, and had the same intension for the Affairs of *Italy*; but if they had no regard to his good will, *Spain* might assure it self, that France was in a state to make War with any whosoever,

1629.

\* 28 Oct.

\* *Siri Mem.*  
*Rec. T. 6.*  
*P. 788.*



1629. *whoſoever, that would not entertain Peace; and that ſhe would never flee from it, wherefore his Catholick Maieſty muſt know that he left him to his liberty to chuſe Peace or War.*

In fine, the Army being already in *Dauphiné*, ſtrong twenty thouſand Foot and two thouſand Horſe, the King cauſed Letters-Patents to be paſſed to the Cardinal dated the 24th of *December*, in which after an *Encomium* of this Prelate, he gave him the Title of *Lieutenant General*, representing the perſon of the King, which was never before given to any whatſoever. It was permitted him to receive and hear the Ambaſſadors of Princes, and Deputies of Towns and Communities, and to ſend them, as he ſhould judge neceſſary for the Service of the King. His Enemies ſaid, to render him odious, that the King had diveſted himſelf of all his Authority in favour of the Cardinal, and reſerved nothing to himſelf but the power of Curing the Evil. It was for him the new word *Generaliſſimo* was invented, to diſtinguiſh him more eaſily from the *Mareſchals Cregui, Schomberg*, and *de la Force*, who were to ſerve under him in quality of *Lieutenant-Generals*.

He left *Paris* the 29th of *December*, and mounted in a Coach, accompanied by the Cardinal *de la Valette* and the Duke of *Montmorency* in one Boot, and the *Mareſchals Baſſompierre* and *Schomberg* in the other, one hundred Cavaliers of Perſons of the greateſt Quality at Court accompanied him about a mile and a half from *Paris*, where the Guards attended with eight Troops of the Regiment of Guards of three hundred Men each. Thoſe who were to bid a-dieu having taken leave, he took the Road to *Lyons*, with a ſmall Flying Camp, which the King had given him for the ſafe-Guard of his Perſon.

Some Months before his Departure, the Cardinal had the pleaſure to underſtand that *Urban VIII.* had given a Hat to his Brother the Arch-Biſhop of *Lyons*, whom he had taken out of a Cloyſter to give him that Arch-Biſhoprick, and another to the Nuncio *Bagni*, who was his particular Friend, inſomuch that it ſeemed that all the world ſtrove to honour his Family, and to ſhow him their good wills.

The

The Cardinal arrived at *Lyons* the 18th of *January*, in the year 1630, from whence he sent *Servien* to the Duke of *Savoy*, to give him notice that he approached the Frontiers with an Army of thirty thousand Men to succour the Duke of *Mantua*, and therefore expected, according to the Treaty of *Suze*, that the Duke gave him passage through his Estates, and joyned his Army with his, as he had a little before told him he would, by his Ambassador the President of *Montfalcon*. The Duke denied to have given any such Order to his Ambassador, and said, that the Prince of *Piemont* was gone to *Pont de Beauvoisin*, where he might confer with the Cardinal.

Three Days after the arrival of this Prelate at *Lyons*, the Count de *St. Maurice* came on behalf of the Prince of *Piemont*, who was already at *Pont de Beauvoisin*, to offer to give passage to the Army, through the Estates of his Father, and to intreat the Cardinal to come to the same place to confer with him touching the march of the Army. The Cardinal answered, that he would Advise with the Mareschals, and some other Lords who were at *Lyons* with him; about it. In effect, he sent to find the Mareschals *Bassompierre* and *Schomberg*, and *de la Force*, beside the Duke of *Montmorency*, and the Marquis of *Alincourt*, Governor of *Lyons*. \* This last said, that he perceived no inconvenience which could be, if he did what the Prince of *Piemont* desired. The Mareschal *Schomberg* who gave his Opinion after him, said, that for many reasons he thought it not fit that the Cardinal should go to *Pont de Beauvoisin*; That it would look as if he went to seek the Prince, because of the desire he had to have Peace, and that the Spaniards who knew it would make none, but with conditions advantageous to them; That the Proposition of the Prince of *Piemont*, was but an Artifice to delay the march of the King's Army, and the Execution of his designs; That it was from Vanity that the Spaniards, who so much desired Peace with the French, would that it should be Treated of, before the Army of *France* was gone out of the Realm, that it might clearly declare the intention of the Duke of *Savoy*, who play'd too much the Neuter on this

\* *Bassomp.*  
*Mém. T. 2.*  
P. 584

1630. this occasion, and because of this he would Negotiate a Place which was half to the King, and half to himself. He was of Opinion that the Cardinal should answer, That having Affairs at *Lyons* for Eight Days, and being indisposed he could not go unto *Pont de Beauvoisin*: but if the Prince would come to *Lyons* he should be treated according to his Quality: That if he could not come, the Cardinal would see him at *Chambery* as he went into *Italy*, if he would stay for him there. The *Mareschal de la Force* was of the same Opinion, and the Duke of *Montmorency* likewise approved it.

The *Mareschal de Bassompierre* was nevertheless of the contrary Sentiment, that at least if he had not some secret Reasons, for which he would not hear any speech of Peace, he apprehended nothing why the Cardinal should refuse to go to *Pont de Beauvoisin*; That the Prince of *Piemont* was a Prince affectionate to *France*, Brother-in-Law to the King, and who came fifty Leagues through most bitter cold to propose things to the Cardinal, which might be advantageous to the Crown; That the Cardinal went not out of his way, and in case that they came to no conclusion, he ought to go into *Italy*, that he might refuse or accept the Propositions when he had heard them; that this proceeding of the Prince of *Piemont* might give occasion to believe that the Spaniards sought Peace, since they had so ordered matters, that the Prince came to meet the General of the French Army; That it was glorious for the King, that they came to offer at his own Frontiers all they could agree to, if he were in the *Milaneze* with a Puissant Army. That it was rather an effect of the Prudence then of the Vanity of the Spaniards, that there could not be demanded of the Duke of *Savoy* a more Express Declaration than what he made the precedent year, when he had ordered it to be said by his Ambassador, that if the King would enter into an open War with *Spain*, he should joyn ten thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse to the King's Army; That *France* not declaring it self openly, it was not to be exacted from the Duke of *Savoy* to do so: It is true, that the *Pont de Beauvoisin* separated *France* from *Savoy*, but the Prince of *Piemont*

*Piement* would make it no difficulty to come on the King's Lands to treat with the Cardinal, who would do nothing contrary to his Dignity, nor contrary to that of the Crown by going to meet him there. That it was an advantage that the Conclusion, or breach of the Peace, should be made by the intermission of the Prince of *Piement*, because the King might relax some things in his favour; and if nothing were concluded, all *Europe* would judge that the Conditions which the Spaniards had proposed, were very unreasonable, since at the Intercession of his Brother-in-Law the King would not accept them.

It seems that the Cardinal would hear this second advice, because it was for his Interest to make a speedy conclusion, that he might speedily return to the Court, where they endeavoured to do him ill Offices with the King; nevertheless he followed the Counsel of the Marechal *Schomberg* which agreed most with his Vanity.

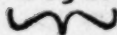
He wrote to the King, that he approved of his Conduct, \* and forbad him to give any hearing of any Propositions might be made to him concerning a simple suspension of Arms. He was absolutely for a ready and assured Peace or a War. If the Emperor would grant the Investiture of his Estates to the Duke of *Mantua*, and the King of *Spain* would let him enjoy it in Peace, *France* would think no more of carrying their Arms into *Italy*, and there was no time more fit, to prevent his Army's passing the Mountains.

\* *Siri Mem.*  
Rec. T. 7.  
P. 12.

As there was no such Proposition made on the behalf of the House of *Austria*; the Cardinal left *Lyons* on the 28th of *January*, to take his way to *Suze*. He sent *L'Emery* to the Duke of *Savoy*, to amuse him by some Propositions. for fear that being provok'd against *France*, and despairing of a Reconciliation with her he should joyn himself with the Imperialists and Spaniards. If the Duke of *Savoy* should do this, then the French Army was to begin with the attack of *Piement*, lest it should leave a formidable Army behind it when it should be in *Montferrat*; and in the mean time the Duke of *Mantua* would run the risque to be trod down.



1630.



• Aubery  
Life of the  
Card. lib. 3.  
c. 17.

The Duke of *Savoy* having received the Answer which the Cardinal had made to the Marquis of *St. Maurice*, was in an extream rage to find his Son slighted after that manner. But the Cardinal excused himself on the account that it was not for the Dignity of the King, to Treat with the Duke of *Savoy* as his equal, as he would seem to have done, if his Minister had gone to the Frontiers, and to a place named by the Prince of *Piemont*. Although the Duke of *Savoy* had little reason to be satisfied with this put-off of the Cardinals, yet he omitted not to send his Son near to *Suze*, where he had divers conferences with this Minister. \* He proposed to the Cardinal to Attack the Republick of *Genova*, and the Dutchy of *Milan* at the same time, and offered to joyn the Troops of his Father with those of the King, and to furnish all he could raise from his Estates; and also to give him places for security. The Cardinal rejected all these Propositions as nothing to the purpose, and required that the Duke should presently assign Estates, that the Army might march towards *Montferrat*, where the Places for want of Munition and sufficient Garisons run great hazard to fall into the hands of the Spaniards.

The Duke of *Savoy*, pressed by the Cardinal, mark'd the Roads for the Army through his Estates, and the places where they might find Victuals paying for them; the Army advanced to *Condovi*, and from thence to *Cazellea*, where, instead of finding Victuals, it was reduced to extream Want, which hindred its further passage. Whilst it sojourned there, the Cardinal having received advice, that *Casal* and *Pondesture* had received each a considerable Convoy of Victuals, which was what those places principally wanted, he sent one to carry his last Resolution to the Duke of *Savoy*, to oblige him forthwith to declare himself; which was, that if he would joyn his Troops to the French Army, his Majesty would give him the Valley of *Cisery*, and the *Port de Gressin*, would maintain for him five thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse, and also joyn with him for the recovery of what the *Genoeses* detained. The Prince of *Piemont* came to find the Cardinal, and accepted

cepted the Proposals which he had caused to be made to his Father; but he said, that not being yet reconciled with the Genoueses, he had a design to bring them to reason, and that was what hinder'd him to joyn the Royal Army.

This Answer created an Apprehension, That the Duke of Savoy only designed to gain time, which was not to be given him. The French Generals then concluded to declare War against him, if he executed not immediately the Treaty of Suze. They sent to tell him, that by the Treaty, the King's Army was to have free passage through *Piemont* to go to *Montferrat*. It was just that the Duke should raze the Fortifications of *Veillane*, which is a place upon the Passage, which the Duke had Fortified about a year since, and put a strong Garison therein. It was not prudence for them to leave that place in that condition behind them, in the uncertainty they were in of what the Duke of Savoy might do. The Duke only offered to withdraw part of his forces from *Veillane*, but would hear nothing of razing the Fortifications of a place, which was so far in his Country. In the mean time, he seized the principal Passes of the River *Dore*, as if he would oppose the march of the King's Army. \* For this reason the Cardinal caus-

ed Cognizance to be taken of the Fords of that River, and having recalled the Vanguard, which was six Leagues from thence, and commanded by the Marechal de *Crequi*, he gave orders to all the Army to be before the said Fords, on the Night of the 18th or 19th of *March*, to pass them at break of day. The Horse were to pass first, and the Infantry to follow them over a Bridge at a great distance. The Cardinal had a design to surprize the Duke of Savoy, who was at *Rivoli*, a House of Pleasure, and suddenly to Invest that place, before the Duke could get out, after which he might make him do what he thought fit. To execute this design more easily, the Cardinal sent a Gentleman to the Duke, to tell him, that the King's Army could stay no longer where it was without prejudice; and that he intreated him to dispose all things so, as that it might pass conveniently and without further delay, otherwise he should be obliged

\* *Sims Mem.*  
Rec. T. 7.  
P. 63.

1630.

\* Aubery  
Life of the  
Card. Lib.  
3. c. 17.

liged to force his Passage, and to provide, as he should find it necessary, subsistence for the Army. The Duke on his side \* sent his Son the Prince of *Piemont* to demand the reason of the Countermarch of the Vanguard, which came back the way it went. The Cardinal answered, that as he had not informed himself of the reason of some motions which the Duke of *Savoy* had caused his Troops to make, so was he not obliged to give an account, why he had caused the Vanguard to approach nearer to the rest of the Army.

On the morrow, the design we spoke of. was to be Executed, and the Duke of *Savoy* being much inferior in number of Troops, would have been infallibly taken. if he had not in the Night retired to *Turin*, be it that he was advertised of the Cardinal's design, or that he suspected it: The Cardinal \* accused the Duke of *Montmorency*, that he had given notice to the Duke of *Savoy*; but his not saying so till after his Death, that accusation is with reason to be a little suspected. Let it be as it will, the Duke withdrew himself with his Troops to *Turin*, before the French Army had passed the *Dore*. \*

\* Siri ibid,  
p. 64.

\* Pontif.  
Mem. T. 2.  
p. 411.

An Officer who was present in this Expedition, said, that the Cardinal was habited in a Cuirass of Water-colour, and a Coat of the Colour of *Fueillemort*, on which he had a small gold belt, he had, added he, a Plume of Feathers round his Hat, two Pages marching before him on Horseback, of which one carried his Gantlets, and the other the Habillement of his Head; two other Pages marched on each side of him, and each of them held by the Bridle a Courser of great price; behind him was the Captain of his Guards. In this Equipage he passed the River *Dore* on Horseback, having his Sword by his side, and two Pistols at his Saddle bow, and when he was got over to the other side, he made his Horse curvet a hundred times before the Army, vaunting aloud his Skill in that Exercise.

\* Puysegur.  
Mem. p. 66.

Another affirms, that it \* Rained that Day excessively, and that the Soldiers being extraordinary wet, cried out aloud, *The Devil take the Cardinal and all his People*. The Cardinal seeing an Officer pass by, called him,

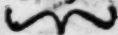
him, and told him, the Soldiers were very insolent, asking him, if he understood what they said? The Officer replied, Yes; but it is the Custom of Soldiers whilst they are suffering, but they always said the contrary when they were at ease. In the sequel, he told the Cardinal, that he would advise them to be wiser when he gave them Orders. The Army being come to *Rivoli* the Cardinal was lodg'd in the Castle in the middle of the Town; the Soldiers having found plenty of Victuals, began to solace themselves for the Fatigue they had that day had, and the Cardinal understood they were very merry, and drank a Health to this great Cardinal *Richelieu*: The Officer going afterwards to receive Orders from him, because then the Guards received them from the General alone, or the King when he commanded in Person; the Cardinal told him, that the Soldiers had much changed their discourse, and thought it to no purpose to punish them.

The same day \* he sent to *Turin*, *Servien*, to tell the Duke that the Army had not come to *Rivoli*, could they have subsisted in the place where they were, and that that ought not to break the good understanding between the Cardinal and his Highness, provided he would do what should be done on his part. \* *Siri Mem.*  
*Rec. T. 7.*  
*P. 63.*

But the Duke was in such a rage, for the trick he had play'd him, that he would not see *Servien*, nor any whosoever who would endeavour to appease him. *Servien* returned thither a second time to speak to the Princess of *Piedmont*, and the Duke sent a Gentleman to Negotiate with the Cardinal. In the interim, that Prelate thought of besieging *Pignerol*, knowing the place was not in a condition of defence. On the 20th of *March* it was Invested by the Marechal de *Cregui*, who was detached with six thousand Foot and a thousand Horse. To deceive the Duke, the Cardinal gave out, that he would march to *Turin*, and he which commanded the Artillery, made it advance that way more than a League, and all the Army accompanied it, which made the Duke believe that the Cardinal would effectually visit the Capital of the State; so that he suddenly recalled some Troops, which he ordered to throw themselves into *Pignerol*. Moreover, the Cardinal sent to re-



1630.



\* *Memoirs*  
of the prin-  
cipal affi-  
ons of the  
Marschal  
de Fleffis,  
p. 2.  
† *Puyfegar.*  
Mem. p. 68.

call his Avant-guard, and his Artillery to return, and made the Rear-guard make a demi-turn to the Right, and march to *Pignerol*. The Army arrived there on the 21, and Invested that place on every side. They used so much diligence that the next day a Battery of three pieces of Cannon begun to play, which made those of the City, which might have held out several days, to surrender. The Cardinal entred into the Town, and began to attack the Castle. The Count *Urban d'Escalangué* Governor of the Place, was retired into it with eight hundred men: at the same time they worked on Lines of Contravallation, fearing they should be long time before that Castle, which being on a Rock, seemed almost to be impregnable. \*The Count *de Pleffis Praslain* Master of the Camp, had orders to build a Fort on the Mountain of *St. Bridget*, to stop relief which might come that way, they fixed a † Miner to one of the Bastions, which was on so hard a Rock, that in three days he scarcely made a hole would cover half a Man. During this, the Governor, who had no experience in the Art-Military, fancied himself with the Garison ready to fly into the Air, and on *Easter-Eve*, when no such thing was expected, he beat a Parley. The Cardinal who had notice, that the Duke of *Savoy* was advancing to relieve the place, immediately sent the *Marschal de Crequi*, to agree with the Governor on his own terms, provided he went out in four hours. But the Devout Governor said, he would not depart till the morrow morning, because he would absolutely communicate in his place, before he surrender'd it. All they could draw out of him, was that it should be early in the morning, and that he would give Hostages, In the mean time the Cardinal, who feared every moment to have the Duke of *Savoy* on his back, and that might inspire new Courage into the Cowardly Governor, grew impatient, and caused in the Night the Clocks of the Town to be set an hour forward, to hasten *Escalangué*; when day appeared *Escalangué* after receiving the Sacrament, with the greatest part of the Garison went out of the place. The Garison took their way to *Turin*, but the Governor stayed behind to dispatch some affairs which he had.

These

These Troops about a League from the Town met the Duke of *Savoy*, who was coming to relieve *Pignerol*, and was so enraged at their Cowardice, that he ordered the Cavalry to lay hands on them. He should rather have prevented this Mischief, by putting into *Pignerol* a Man of War, instead of *Escalangue*: and he was blamed by all the War, for putting the Keys of his Estate into the hands of a Man who was unable to keep them. Thus *France* obtained a Passage from *Dauphiné* into *Piedmont* which she would never since part with, and by means of which she hath ever since held the Dukes of *Savoy* in Dependence, or hinder'd them from taking Arms against her and escaping unpunished.

The Cardinal who knew the Importance of keeping this place, took care to fortify it regularly, and to place a good Garison in it. Although he had prevalent reasons to return into *France* as soon as possible, yet he would not leave *Pignerol* before he had put it in a state of Defence. \* When he sent an Express to the King to carry him the news of this Conquest, he gave an account of the Reasons which he had engaged him to break with the Duke, the Principal whereof was that he would not observe the Treaty of *Susa*. Had these Reasons been weak, yet the taking of *Pignerol*, on which the Crown had antient pretensions, would have render'd them of very great moment, and the King could not but approve of the Conduct of his Minister.

\* *Siri Memo.*  
Rec. T. 7.  
P. 66.

The Pope and the Venetians were not angry, that *France* had gotten an open Passage into *Italy*, to hold *Savoy* to his Duty, and more easily to oppose the enterprizes of the House of *Austria*; But it was feared that the rupture with *Savoy*, would stop the French Arms in *Piedmont*, and that in the mean time *Casal* and *Mantua* would fall into the hands of the Imperialists and Spaniards. To prevent this, the Cardinal *Antonio Barbarino* Legat, and the Ambassadors of *Venice* pressed the Cardinal to make an accommodation with *Savoy*, but this accommodation was the more difficult, because the Duke insisted absolutely for the Restoration of *Pignerol*, which it was to be feared *France* would never consent to.

1630.

\* The 7th  
of April.  
Ibid. P.  
72.

For this the Legat \* went to Pignerol to visit the Cardinal, and see if he could persuade him to restore this place. The Cardinal told him, That he had no power, because the King had but scarcely received news of its taking. That as he could not give neither his word nor assurance, that the place should be restored, so would he not put them out of all hopes: that they might employ their endeavours with the King to obtain it, and he believed the intercession of the Princess of Piedmont, might be of very great weight, especially if they demanded the restitution of this place, not upon any convention but merely as an effect of the King's generosity. The Legat replied thereupon, that to make the Peace more easily, France ought to give her word that she would restore Pignerol, for the consideration she had for the Princess of Piedmont. The Cardinal answered to this, That he had no power to give it, and that should the King design to restore Pignerol, he knew not why he should promise before hand, what he was only obliged to do out of his own generosity. But as soon as he knew the King's intention he would not fail to let him know it. The Legat after proposed a suspension of Arms, and the Cardinal replied, That if that could produce the conclusion of a Peace, as the Legat might know from the Spaniards and the Duke of Savoy, he would voluntarily propose it to the Council, and would not be an Enemy to that advice; but if this suspension were not made for that end, it would be to no purpose to speak of it. Being pressed oftentimes to tell what he thought of the restitution of Pignerol, he said, That he believed the King's intention was not to appropriate that place to himself, but that the King might design to keep it, until all the Articles of Peace were compleatly executed, because he had no other security for the execution of the Treaty. The Father Valeriana Capuchin, made moreover many Propositions, but the Cardinal remained firm to his resolutions, and as they knew the King intirely depended on his Counsels, they found it would be no easie matter to get Pignerol out of his hands, and by consequence to come to any conclusion. The French thought it strange, that Urban the VIII. should send his Nephew,

to treat on such a difficult affair as this, instead of sending a Cardinal of Age and Experience.

So that nothing was concluded, the Mareschal of *Schomberg* advanced \* about the beginning of *April*, as far as *Briqueras*, and as *Spinolo*, *Collalto*, and the Duke of *Savoy* opposed themselves to his passage, he durst proceed no further; so that the design of relieving the Duke of *Mantua*, of which the Cardinal made so much noise, and which was the occasion of the King's Army passing the Mountains, vanished, since *France* had found another way to pay it self for the charge she had been at.

The King, that he might be near to his Armies, came with the Queen and all the Court to *Lyons* the 4th of *May*, where he received news from the Cardinal which informed him, that after he had put *Pignerol* in a state of Defence, he would be ready to attend him. The Mareschal de *Bassompierre* who had been sent into *Switzerland*, to raise six thousand men there, returned, having executed his Commission. A Council was kept, and it was concluded, to make the Conquest of *Savoy*, to counterbalance that way the advantages which the Imperialists and the Spaniards had made on the Estates of the Duke of *Mantua*, and to whom no further opposition could be made, by reason of the difficulty of the Passages. The 14th of *May* was appointed for the Rendezvous of the Army which was to be between *Grenoble* and the *Fort de Barrault*.

The 10th of the same Month the King parted from *Lyons* to go to *Grenoble*, whither the Cardinal was come the day before. The King arrived the 12th, and the Cardinal having related to him what had passed in *Piedmont*, went to *Lyons* to salute the Queens. He gave all manner of respects to their Majesties, and it was believed he would not have made this journey, but only to endeavour a perfect reconciliation with the Queen-Mother. This Princess Exhorted him very much to a Peace, and he seemed to be well inclined to make it, if it could be done with honour. There was no design formed against the States of the House of *Austria*; no transactions were set on foot but for punishing the Duke of *Savoy*, and by the same means to support the Duke of *Mantua*. The Cardinal also seemed



1630. absolutely reconciled with the Queen-Mother, to whom he made great submissions, and she for her part showed not any resentment for what had passed.

The Cardinal was afterwards to find the King again, who in a little time subjected all *Savoy* with an Army of eighteen thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse. In the mean time, *Mazarine* came in quality of a Nuntio, to treat of Peace, and the Cardinal offered to restore *Pignerol*, but on so hard terms, \* that there was no appearance that the House of *Austria* would entertain them. The Conquest of *Savoy*, nevertheless, proved not of so great consequence to facilitate a Peace as was expected; and *Collalto* and *Spinola* receiving every day new Troops, put themselves in posture to invade the *Mantuan* and *Montferrat*, without any one that was in a Condition to withstand them. All the French Nation being wearied with continual Wars, in which they had been for so long time engaged either at Home or Abroad. The new Impositions which had been laid on the People for carrying on the Wars, render'd them discontented: there had been some Seditious in *Burgundy*, and also a Commotion at *Lyons*, although the Queens were present, the People refusing to pay the new Taxes. The Garison of *Pignerol*, and the Troops in *Piedmont* suffered infinitely for want of Victuals. *Troiras*, who was in *Casal*, wholly wanted Money, and was obliged to Coin Copper, with promise to save all Persons from Damage by it, who should receive it, as soon as the City should be disingaged. If in this conjuncture, the House of *Austria*, had proposed tollerable conditions, a Peace had easily followed, though before there was no talk of War. The Cardinal had always this maxim to make advantage by the present state of affairs, and as the condition of things changed, he often changed his Counsels, and abandoned his principal designs, whenever he found in the execution any thing equivalent.

In the interim, he furnished *Tboiras* with 30000 Crowns to pay the Garison of *Casal*, for fear lest for want of Money that Town should fall into the hands of the Spaniards. \* About this time the Pope made a Decree, by which, instead of the title of *Illustriissimo*, or most Illustrious

\* *Siri Mem.*  
*Res. T. 7.*  
*P. 81.*

\* *Aubery*  
*Life of the*  
*Card. Lib.*  
*3. c. 22.*  
10 June

strious Lordship, the Cardinals were to receive that of Eminence, or most Eminent. The Decree being sent to all the Cardinals, they were not wanting to make their advantages by it, and they treated the French Cardinals as well as the others, only with that of Eminencies. It was said, that Cardinal *Richelieu* not only approved of this new Title, but had no small share in its invention.

*Don Philippo Spinola*, Son of the Governor of *Milan*, at the beginning of this Spring took *Pondesture*, ill defended by the French, and four other small places; so that there remained no more than *Casal*, which belonged to the Duke of *Mantua* in *Montferrat*, by the bravery of *Thoiras* who was always in the place. The Marquis *Spinola* formed the Siege the 23 of *May* with an Army of Eighteen thousand Foot and six thousand Horse. *Thoiras* made great and continual Sallics which incommoded the besiegers, but so weakned his Garison; The Germans began at the same time to attack *Mantua*; where-into the *Marschal d'Estree*, sometime before had thrown himself, without Money, or Forces; so that he was of little use to the Duke. The Venetians succoured that place so slowly and weakly, and a great part of the Inhabitants loving rather to submit to the Emperor than endure a longer War, it was taken, and the Duke obliged to Surrender the Citadel of *Porto* on the 18th of *July*. From thence he retired into the Ecclesiastical State, having been able to save nothing but his Person: and had it not been for the generosity of the Neighbouring Princes, he had wanted all things most necessary to support Life: We are assured, that since the beginning of the Siege there died in *Mantua*, above twenty five thousand Persons of the Siege and of other Inconveniences, but the Avarice of the Germans who entred it, caused yet greater mischief, there being not a house, which they plunder'd not of all things they had a mind to, nor any insolence which they did not commit. The Duke of *Mantua* was generally blamed, who sold and engaged the Lands which he had in *France* for above four hundred and fifty thousand Crowns, and disposed of the greatest parts of the

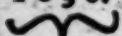
1630. rich moveables which he found in the Palace of the Dukes of *Mantua*, to support himself in this War, and yet notwithstanding did nothing requisite for the Preservation of his State, not having so much as an indifferent Garison in *Mantua*, nor having taken the pains to Fortify it. It was thought strange, that the Venetians had not better succoured it, being so much concerned as they were; But what was more surprizing was, that *France*, which had declared highly for him, acquitted her self so ill, of what she had promised him, doing nothing but what was done for the Relief of *Casal*. The Cardinal accounted the taking of *Pigneral*, to be a thing infinitely more important than the Succour of *Mantua*, in which there was more of glory than of present profit to the Crown.

He had, during this, entertained commerce with the Princes, who composed the Protestant League in *Germany*, and who opposed themselves to the Grandeur of the House of *Austria*. It was this year that *Gustavus Adolphus* passed into *Pomerania*, and the King having sent the Baron de *Charnaces* to him, to propose a League between the two Crowns, the Cardinal wrote to him \* and received a most obliging answer. This Prince by his Victories suddenly stopped the progress of the House of *Austria*, more than all the Treaties and Intrigues of the Cardinal could do. It is true that it cost *France* five hundred thousand Crowns yearly, which she was obliged to pay to the King of *Sweden*, on condition he should attack the Emperor, but without this it would have been very difficult to have resisted the United Forces of the House of *Austria*. Orders also were given to the same Baron of *Charnace* to treat with divers Protestant Princes of *Germany* to engage them in the same design.

The Army of the *Marschals de la Force* and *Schomberg* being very much enfeebled by Desertions, and by Sickneses, required of necessity to be reinforced with a new body of an Army, and the Conduct thereof was given to the Duke of *Montmorency*, and the Marquis d'*Effiat*. It was composed of ten thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse, and to joyn the other Army \* they were to hazard a battle against the Troops of *Savoy*, commanded

\* Dated at  
Stratford,  
the 17th of  
September.

\* The 9th  
See Sirs Me.  
Rec. T. 7. P.  
196.



commanded by the Prince *Thoiras*. The French being to pass a Defile, the Savoyards staid till all were passed, but the Rear-Guard, which they charged and put them presently into confusion; but the two French Generals having caused some of their Troops to turn back, they defeated the Savoyards, and laid near two thousand Men on the ground. \* A few days after they took the City of *Saluces*, by composition, which made the Duke of *Savoy* much perplexed. Being come to *Savigliano*, with design to repair the loss by a new Combat, because he was superior in Horse, he received the news of the taking of *Mantua*, which as much rejoiced him as it afflicted the French.

20 July.

In this conjuncture, wherein *Charles Emanuel*, had more reason to be sorry than to rejoice, his grief and joy finished his Life. He was a Prince of a vast Spirit, and undaunted Courage, but extraordinarily ambitious and turbulent, and who rarely took just measures to compass the enterprises in which he engaged himself. He is likewise accused to have been unconstant, faithless, and also cruel, for they shewed divers Castles in his Estates where he had secretly put to death those he would be rid of.

26 July.

*Victor Amadeus* his Eldest Son, Brother-in-Law to *Louis XIII.* succeeded him, and it was believed, that the strict Alliance which was between them would induce them quickly to a Peace, and that the new Duke would recover his Estates, more by the Generosity of the King than by way of Arms. But the Politick Cardinal was entirely opposite to this kind of generosity. The French Generals having understood the Death of *Charles Emanuel*, deliberated whether they should go to *Casal*, whilst the courage of the Savoyards was abated by the Death of their Prince. But the major part were of opinion, that they should remain in *Piedmont*, wherefore they contented themselves to go to *Revel*, where the Plague began to kill many People. From thence they went to *Villa Franca* and to *Pontcalier*, whose Castles they took by composition. Their Cavalry soon after possessed themselves of *Carignan*, and the Savoyards which were there, passed quickly over the *Po*, and took away



1639. away the Planks of the Bridge that they might not be followed by the French. The new Duke came thither almost at the same time, to relieve his Subjects, and made them work on a Retrenchment beyond the Bridge to cover his Troops and secure his passage; afterwards he made a Half Moon on that side the Bridge, a work which the French at first despised, but it being finished made them afraid that when they had a mind to retire from *Carignan*, they should be attack'd by the Savoyards because there was a Defile to pass; they therefore resolved to attack it, \* which they did with so much vigour that they took it with Sword in hand, and killed near two thousand of the Duke's men, who again took away the Planks of the Bridge. This action of the French was nevertheless not advantageous to them, and they durst not march to *Casal* fearing the Army of *Spinola* was re-inforced with German Troops, which had been before in the *Mantua*, after that *Mantua* was taken. He pressed *Casal* daily more and more, and though *Thoiras* did all he could to defend it, he had no hopes to keep it longer than *September*, because he wanted both Victuals and Money, and the Soldiers were extraordinarily diminished: besides that, the Inhabitants of *Casal* which found themselves yet the strongest, had been wearied with three years War, and two Sieges which they had undergone, had declared that they intended to Capitulate in the Month of *October*, if the Siege were not raised before. *Thoiras* wrote this ill news to the French Generals, but their Army was so lessened by the Plague, and so full of Sickneses, that they looked upon the relief of *Casal* as a thing impossible. Notwithstanding *Spinola* was in an extraordinary fear, lest they should march for this against his Trenches, because the fourteen thousand Men with which he began the Siege, were by sickness reduced to four, and because no quarter was given by either side.

In this confusion of both Parties, *Mazarine*, who took the function of the Nuntio *Pancirolo*, after many Journeys which he made to no purpose on either side to induce them to a Peace, obtained in fine, that they should sign a General Truce from the 4th of *September* to the

the fifteenth of *October*. It was in this Treaty among other things agreed that *Spinola* and *Thoiras*, should leave all works, either for the attacking or defending of *Casal*, in the same Estate they were, that *Spinola* should give leave to the French Garison to buy Victuals in his Camp unto the end of *October*, that they should in the mean time remit to the Spaniards the City and Castle of *Casal*: that if the Peace were not concluded by the 15th of the same Month, the French might endeavour to succour the Citadel of *Casal*; but if they were not succoured before the last day, *Thoiras* should resign it to *Spinola*.

This Suspension of Arms seemed strange to those, who knew not the Condition of both Parties, because it seemed to them that *Spinola* must necessarily carry the Citadel of *Casal*, or that the French must raise the siege. But *Spinola* who could not force the Citadel, because his Army was diminished more than two thirds, and that he could obtain no assistance from *Collalto*, under pretext that the Emperor had commanded him to guard the passes of the *Po*, and the Estates of the Duke of *Savoy*: but in effect it was that *Collalto* was very glad, to see the Glory which *Spinola* had formerly acquired to be diminished. The Duke of *Savoy* was also extraordinarily provoked against that General, because he would not joyn his Army to his for the defence of *Piedmont*, which the Duke wished for rather than the besieging *Casal*. *Victor Amedeus* had also obtained from *Spain* a Prohibition to him to make any Peace, and he was to expect a new power from *Madrid*, to conclude the Truce.

This General grew Melancholly, and gave not orders before *Casal* with the same Calmness as before, and the French said themselves, that the Orders he gave for the manner of attacking this place were very bad. So being weary of the Siege, and provoked with the treatment the Spaniards gave him, he abandoned the government of affairs and fell sick of Grief. The four French Generals *Schomberg*, *de la Force*, *Montmorency*, and *D'Effiat*, were on their side induced to the Truce, by reason of the great number of Soldiers which deserted, or  
which

1630.

which were sick in the Army, the small number of Cavalry they had, and the extremity they knew *Casal* was in, which they gave over for almost lost. Besides they agreed not amongst themselves, the *Mareschal Schomberg* commanded an Army in part, and *de la Force*, and *Montmorency*, because that *d'Effiat* a Creature of the Cardinals, only knew the secret, and had power to Negotiate.

The Treaty of Truce being carried to *Casal*, the Duke of *Mayenne*, second Son of the Duke of *Mantua*, and *Thoiras* also, made their particular Treaties, touching the execution of the Truce, and the Surrender of the Town and Castle of *Casal*, it was the Marquis of *St. Croix* which treated with them, by reason of the sickness of *Spinola*, who had remitted the conduct of the Army to him. But *St. Croix* had with so little exactness guarded the Avenues of the Citadel, that the Garison which at the conclusion of the Truce, was feeble and full of Sicknesses when the Truce came to expire, was more numerous, and free from inconveniences, which might put them out of a condition to make a vigorous resistance. The Magazines which were void were also filled, by the little faithfulness of the Spanish Soldiers, who sold Victuals to the French, as much as they pleased, and to enable them to buy. *Thoiras* had several ways been furnished with Money: and *Mazarine* himself, who ought to have been Neuter in this Affair, brought with him when he Negotiated the Truce some thousands of Pistols, a service which afterwards, gained him the good will of *France*, and above all the esteem and friendship of Cardinal *Richelieu*.

*Spinola*, for some reasons which he might tell *Mazarine*, would never sign the Truce, and died in a few days, after making great complaints of the Count, Duke, and Council of *Spain*; who, after they had tried his Fidelity during thirty two years, were come to doubt of it, and seeming to put more confidence in the Duke of *Savoy* than in him. This fault of the *Conde d'Olivarez*, was the cause that *Casal* remained to the French, as you will find in the sequel. But it must be confessed, that after the Cardinal had made so much noise about it he had

had done no great matter for its preservation, and that if the Duke of Mantua was not by the prudence of this Minister. 1630.

A short time after, \* Leon Brulart, assisted by Father Joseph, concluded a Treaty at Ratisbonne, with the Ambassadors of the Emperor; where after the regulation of what the Duke of Nevers should give to the pretenders to the Succession of Mantua. The Emperor promised him the investiture of his Estates, provided he asked it with submission. This Treaty contained divers other particular Articles, and the method of Executing them, which I will pass over. But few People could persuade themselves, that so old a Minister as Brulart, would have made such a fault, and especially being assisted by Father Joseph, to whom the Cardinal had intrusted his most secret thoughts, and who was no Novice in matters of Negotiations. It was rather to be supposed, that the Cardinal had altered his Sentiments, according as the state of Affairs changed, and that he sometimes desired Peace, and sometimes War; as he believed it most agreeable to the present Interest of France, or as he judged it might render his Ministry most necessary to the Crown. \* 13 Octob. Sini Mem. Rec. T. 7. P. 230.

I cannot dwell on the circumstances of this Negotiation, but it is good to report the Sentiments which Brulart had conceived of Father Joseph, in the transacting of this affair \* when he was returned from his Embassy, he said to several of his Friends, that this Capuchin had nothing of his Order but the Habit, nor had nothing of a Christian but the name; that he was a Spirit full of Artifices and Cheats; that he endeavoured to Cheat all the World; that during the Negotiation at Ratisbonne, he had never made him partaker of his Councils, nor communicated any thing to him till after it was concluded; that he had an oblique Soul, which had nothing in prospect, but how to increase his Esteem with the Cardinal. He assured, that that Prelate had made no great noise against him, as if he had passed his Commission, only the better to cover the orders he had given him. One day the Cardinal invited him to a treat which he made to divers Persons, when they brought

\* Sini Mem.  
Rec. T. 7.  
P. 259



1630. brought in the Cards after Dinner, he set himself to play with the Cardinal at *Prime*. It happen'd there was a difference between them about certain Cards, of which the Company were agreed to be judges, who having declared in favour of the Cardinal for fear of offending him, *Brulart* took up all the Money which was before him, and paid the Cardinal thirteen hundred Pistols, which he had won of him, but he could not forbear saying, that there were Pirates at Land as well as a Sea. Afterwards as he departed the Cardinal followed him softly, and having taken him by the Neck, said, that *Brulart* was a handsom Man, and it would do him a mischief to take his Head from his Shoulders, as he had run the hazard.

In the time of the Conclusion of the Peace at *Ratisbonne*, the French Generals thought to relieve the Garrison of *Casal*, which could not escape from the Marquis of *St. Croix*, Successor of *Spinola*, if not suddenly done. The Duke of *Montmorency*, and the Marquis *D'Effiat* were returned into *France*, but the Marechal *de Marillac* was come in their place, to joyn himself to *Schomberg* and *de la Force*. Although it was a business of great difficulty to march five and twenty or thirty Leagues into an Enemies Country, and to gather together as much Victuals as might maintain the Army going and coming back, and to put into *Casal*; they resolved to venture all that might happen, because the King had sent express orders to endeavour the succour of *Thoiras*. Wherefore they prepared to march by the 13th of *October*, maugre all the Negotiations of *Mazarine*, who forgot nothing to induce the differing parties to a Peace; there were come from *France* new Forces and Money, and the 13th of *October* the Marechals of *France* marched with their Artillery towards the plain of *Scarnast*, and all the Army followed with Bread and Bisker for 12 days, besides some Meat, with design to hazard all to disengage the Citadel.

In the mean time \* the Treaty of *Ratisbonne* was brought to the Generals, which broke all their measures, because it was agreed by that Treaty that all hostility should cease between the two Armies, as soon as the Generals

\* *Siri Mem.*  
*Rec. T. 7.*  
*P. 26.*  
 20 *Octob.*

Generals had received it. The Mareſchal *Schomberg* who had the greateſt authority in the Army, was of opinion, that this Treaty was not to be accepted of, be-  
 cauſe the Duke of *Mantua* was not to receive Inveſti-  
 ture into his Eſtate till after ſix Weeks, and to with-  
 draw his Troops only fifteen days after, which obliged  
 the French to remain ſtill two Months in *Italy*, and there  
 to continue the Campagne, that is to ſay, to run the  
 hazard of periſhing there, either by famine or ſickneſs,  
 without conſidering Deſertions, which are always great  
 when an Army ſuffers too much. The ſame day this  
 Treaty came to his hands, he told *Mazarine*, and the  
 Envoys of *Venice* and *Mantua*, who were with him, that  
 he reſuſed not to execute the Treaty of *Ratisbonne*, but  
 that he required that the City and Caſtle of *Cafal*, in-  
 ſtead of being put into the hands of the Duke of *Man-  
 tua* in fifteen days as the Treaty directed, ſhould imme-  
 diately be done, becauſe it was not ſure for the French, that  
 if their Army ſhould retreat, to truſt to the good faith of  
 the Spaniards, who afterwards would do what they pleaſed.

*Mazarine* went to make this Propoſal to the Generals  
 of the Emperor and of *Spain*; and after he had treated  
 with the Marquiſſes of *St. Croix* and *Collalto*, he retur-  
 ned to the French Camp, which was at *la Roche*, and  
 told the Generals that the Spaniards conſented, that they  
 ſhould furniſh the Citadel of *Cafal* with Men and Muni-  
 tions for a year, to let them know that they had no o-  
 ther deſign than to execute the Treaty of *Ratisbonne*.  
 The French took this offer for an aſſured mark that the  
 Spaniards were afraid of them, and in this thought,  
 they believed they might obtain any thing more, if they  
 made their conſtancy to appear: They therefore rejeſt-  
 ed this offer, whatſoever *Mazarine* could ſay, and march-  
 ed to attack the Lines of the Spaniards. Theſe laſt had  
 twenty five thouſand foot, and ſix or ſeven thouſand  
 Horſe; the French equalled them in the number of  
 Infantry, but were inferior in Cavalry. Notwithſtan-  
 ding the Mareſchals of *France* reſolved to attack their  
 Lines, which indeed were not alike finiſhed throughout,  
 but were ſtrong enough to give the advantage to the  
 Spaniſh Army, had it been well commanded. But the  
 Marquis

1630. Marquis of *St. Croix* was not at all a General of an Army, nor had he scarcely any Officers capable by their ability to assist him: On the contrary the three Marshals were very skilful Men, they had most brave subalterne Officers which are never wanting in the Armies of *France*.

The 26th, the French Army appeared, and that of the Spaniards, which was Ranged in battle within the Lines, sent out some Musqueteers to molest the French on their march, by the favour of a flood, after which they were to pass. In the interim, *Mazarine*, who had taken infinite pains to come and go Post sometimes from one side, and then from the other, to endeavour to accommodate this Affair, pressed with very great constancy the Spaniards to grant the French their demands, and endeavoured to hinder the French from coming to blows so soon as they intended. He passed many times from one Camp to the other, and run the hazard of Life (by not being at a distance) by some Soldiers who fired at him. In fine, by representing to the Spaniards the Resolution of the French, and magnifying their Forces, he obtained what they had just before refused. As soon as the Marquis of *St. Croix* had passed his word, he mounted on a good Horse, which *Picolomini* lent him, and run with full speed to the French Generals, who marched every one in the head of the body which they led in a profound silence, and which were already within Cannon-shot, which begun to play from the Spanish side. *Mazarine* afar off made a sign with his Hat on high for them to halt, and then went to speak to the Marshal *Schomberg*, who had the secret of the intentions of the King and the Cardinal. The Army made an halt, and the three Marshals being assembled together, accepted the terms which *Mazarine* offered them, and this last presently hastened to carry the News to the Spaniards, who thereupon forbid firing on the French. In the interim, two shots of Cannon having been made without order, it was very near, that the French Army had fallen on in spite of their Generals. *Mazarine* returning to excuse the matter; the Marquis of *St. Croix*, *Philip de Spinola*, General of the Artillery,

1630.

Artillery, the Duke of Lerma Master of the Camp, General of the Infantry, and other Officers to the number of Forty went out of the Lines: as on the French side the three Marefchals advanced with the like number of Officers. When they came near to each other, *Mazarine* made them a short discourse, wherein he praised them for having chosen rather to end their differences by a Treaty than by a Battel, and exhorted them to embrace each other, which being done, he repeated with a loud Voice the following Articles.

I. That the Spaniards on the morrow, being the 27th of October, should go out of the Town and Castle of Casal, as also out of the places of Pendesture, de Rossignano, Nizzo de la Paille, and of Castle-Ponzane; and that at the same time the French should depart the Citadel of Casal, it remaining free to the Duke de Mayenne to put into all these places such Governors and Garisons as he pleased.

II. That staying till the 23 of November, when the Emperor was to give Investiture to the Duke of Mantua, there should an Imperial Commissary with his Family only remain there, of whom the Garison should receive Orders, without his being concerned in ought else.

III. That the Governors which the Duke of Mayenne should send to the other Places, should be presented to this Commissary, who should dispatch their Patents without taking any Oath of them.

IV. That the 23 of November, the Investiture being agreed or refused to the Duke of Mantua, this Commissary should go out of Casal and Montferrat.

V. That the 27th of October, the Armies of the Emperor, and the King of Spain should begin to march out of Montferrat, and that the French should at the same time do the like,

VI. That there should be Liberty of Commerce between Montferrat and the Milaneze.

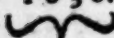
VII. That it being impossible for the Spaniards so suddenly to withdraw their Artillery and Ammunition, some days should be given to do it.

Z

This



1630.



This Treaty being Signed on both sides, the Spaniards began in good faith to Execute it, and the French Generals searched on every side for Victuals and Ammunition to put into *Casal*, before they followed their Army, which was to march presently away; but they could not find as much as was necessary to resist the Spaniards, in case they should come to attack the Place in the Winter; they therefore sought for pretensions, not to be obliged punctually to observe the Treaty. They began to complain that the Spaniards had made many infractions, and caused three Regiments of their Army to return to *Casal*, out of which they drove not only those which were not yet departed, but also the Imperial Commissary. The Spanish Generals being advertised of this, and of the security with which the French other Troops retreated, concluding they had no more to fear, crossed the way to Charge the French, who infallibly had been cut to pieces, if *Mazarine* had not given them notice of the march of the Spaniards. He, in the mean time, put himself in a state to make a new accommodation between them, and by his Mediation it was concluded, \* that the French should go out of *Monferrat*, and the Spaniards should permit Provisions to be brought out of *Piedmont* to revictual *Casal*, that the Complaints about Infractions should be remitted to the Pope, which as they said had been made on both sides. The Victuals were in *Casal* before the 30th of November; the French assembled to retire themselves, but they committed a new Infidelity, in that the Marechal *Schomberg* dismissed a Regiment of *Switzers* which was in the King's Service, to the intent that the Duke might entertain one part of them. The Spaniards made a great outcry upon this, and to appease them they put out the *Switzers*, and took in *Monferrins* in their places.

\* 27 November,  
See Siri  
Mem. Rel.

\* T.7. p.278.

Every thing was quiet, the Marechal *Schomberg* would not leave in *Piedmont* but ten thousand Foot and twenty Corners of Horse. The three Marechals thought of nothing but repassing the Mountains, and the care of Commanding the Troops which remained in *Italy*, was left to *Thoiras*, \* whom the King made Marechal of France,

19 Decem

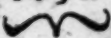
France, as also the Duke of *Montmorency* and the Marquis *D'Effiat*, though some little time after the other.

Thus finished the Campaign of the year 1630. in *Italy*, where the Spaniard found himself devided of what he had taken in *Italy*, and by which he had been at vast Charges, without any advantage remaining by it. But as the Spaniards, could not make use either of time or opportunity to make themselves Masters, so is it certain, that the Cardinal had more reason to boast of his own happiness by their ill Conduct, than to brag of the good Success, which the Arms of *France* had, since Persons of an indifferent Capacity, might many times have taken *Casal*, with the Forces of *Spain*, before and after the French had thrown numbers into it.

But to return to what passed in *France* during these things which I have recounted of the affairs of *Italy*. The King having subjugated all *Savoy*, except the Fort of *Montmeillan*, thought of nothing more than returning into *France*. *Savoy* no way agreeing with him, he finding no divertisement there, he departed therefore from *St. John de Maurienne* at the beginning of *August*, and took the way of *Lyons*, where he arrived the seventh of the Month, without any inconvenience, though he had passed through places infected with the Plague; but he fell sick at *Lyons* about the end of *September*, of an Impostume in the *Mesentery*, which made his Belly swell, and the Physitians not knowing the cause of his Malady, gave him for lost without retrieve: But this Impostume was broken, and the matter having run out in Stools the King soon recovered his Health, contrary to the opinion of the all the World.

Whilst he was Sick \* the Queens left him not Day nor Night; and they made a powerful Cabal against the Cardinal, whom they resolved to destroy as soon as the King was Dead, the two Marillaces, the Keeper of the Seals, and the Marechal, *Vautier* first Physitian of the Queen, the Princess of *Conti*, the Dutches of *Elbeuf*, the Countess of *Forgis*, and others, animated the Queen-Mother against him, and laboured to ruine him. The Cardinal being advertised of it, prayed the Duke of *St.*

1630.



*Simon*, Grand Esquire, who stirred not from the person of the King, to incline his Majesty to take some care of his Prime Minister. The Grand Esquire having spoke to the King, found him perfectly well disposed, and suggested to him the thought of recommending the Cardinal to the Duke of *Montmorency*, who being Governor of *Languedoc*, might easily save the Cardinal, by conducting him into his Government. The King approved of the Expedient, and *St. Simon* having informed the Cardinal of what had passed, that Prelate came to the King's Bed-side, who told him he was careful of his security. The Cardinal all in tears, and feigning to ail nothing, answered, That he should not be sorry to die, after he experimented so good a Master. In the mean time, the Grand Esquire having on behalf of the King spoken to the Duke of *Montmorency*, he took upon him with pleasure the Charge committed to him, and engaged to conduct the Cardinal to *Brouage*, with faithful Troops of which he named all the Companies. The King in the sequel made *Montmorency* come into his Chamber, and recommended the Cardinal to him with weeping, and in terms very affectionate. The Duke promised the King to bring him in all safety to *Brouage*, and to protect him against all. It is said, the \* Cardinal prayed the *Mareschal de Bassompierre* to assure the Switzers to him, in case the King should die; and that the *Mareschal* refused it, saying nevertheless, that the *Marquis d'Alincourt*, Governor of *Lyons*, might contribute much to his safety; and that he might be disposed thereunto by the *Marquis of Chateaufneuf* his Cousin-German, and the Cardinal's Creature. This and the Devotion which *Bassompierre* had for the Princess of *Conti*, Enemy to the Cardinal, render'd the *Mareschal* suspected, and liable to the cruel Revenge of the Cardinal afterwards. The King being recovered, as I have said, quitted *Lyons*, and was followed by the Queen-Mother and the Cardinal, who Embarked themselves on the *Loire*, and came to *Roanne* in the same Boat, and to the Eyes of the Court appeared entirely reconciled. But the Cardinal, who knew what was passed, and to whom the

Preface of  
the Mem. of  
Bassomp.

the King told whatsoever he heard, had care not to trust it; and if the Queen-Mother endeavoured to destroy him in the mind of the King, he studied no less to provoke her Son against her; He persuaded \* this jealous and fearful Prince, that this Princess loved the Duke of Orleans better than him; and that she consulted the Astrologers to know when this latter should mount the Throne, because having no Dauphin, the Crown belonged to him. This was not altogether false, and the King being convinced of it, believed that all the Queen did tended that way, and nothing could persuade him to the contrary. All that the Queens could say against the Cardinal had no effects upon him, because it was not only difficult, but also incredible, that this Prelate should enterprize any thing whatsoever against him, when it was easie for the Queen-Mother and Monsieur to do so; and it was to be believed that they had a mind to it, by the disturbances they had lately made.

The Court being arrived at *Paris*, the King went to *St. Germain* and to *Versailles*, and the Queen-Mother to her Palace at *Luxemburg*, and there it was that her hatred to the Cardinal began to break forth, although the King did all he could to make them agree, and came himself to the Palace of Ambassadors to be near the Queen-Mother, and converse often with her.

In fine, he drew this promise from her, that she should live quietly with him; and to compleat the Reconciliation, they agreed that the King should on the Eleventh of November at Eleven of the Clock before Noon, bring the Cardinal and his Niece *de Combalet*, into the Queens Chamber, to the end that she might show them that she had no further hatred against them. The Queen would have the Niece come first into her Presence, and as she cast her self at her feet, to render her thanks for the great favour she had done her; the Queen instead of pardoning her, fell upon her with most injurious Language, before the King, and *Combalet* returned with wet Eyes, for the affront that she had received. The King said all that could come into his mind, to endea-



1630. your to appease his Mother, whose transports of Choler made him, as he said, suffer extreamly. But hoping that having discharged her Choler, she would use the Cardinal better, he told her, that he would fetch him in.

The Cardinal, who was in an adjacent Chamber, knew by the Countenance of his Niece, whom he saw passing by, that without doubt she had been ill treated, and he was absolutely confirmed in his suspicion, when he entred the Queen's Cabinet, who had Choler painted in her Visage. When he came a little nearer to her she called him Cheat, Ingrate, Malicious, the most Wicked Man in the Kingdom, and Disturber of the Publick Quiet, and turning her self to the King, she told him he beheld a Man, that would take the Crown from him to give it to the Count of *Soissons* (with whom he had been long reconciled) and make him marry *Combales*. The King replied hereupon, and answered, that the Cardinal was a good and honest Man, who served him faithfully, and with whom he was well satisfied; That the Queen disobliged him, put him to torture, and that he could not remit the extream displeasure she had done him. He added all he could to sweeten her, but the Queen was inflamed more and more; the King bad the Cardinal to go, and this Prelate withdrew, in a great fear that the King's Authority would not prevail, and that he should be obliged to leave the Court. The King staid some time with his Mother, and told her he was amazed at this violent manner of procedure, and that she should give her self over so much to her passion. The Queen was not for all this appeased, but drove from her service *Combales*, who was her Lady of the turn, and the Marquis of *Meilleraye*, who was Captain of her Guards, because they were of the Cardinal's Kindred.

In fine, the King out of measure provoked, that his Mother had forfeited her word and her respect, as he believed, went out of her Cabinet, saying, that he had had too much patience. He after demanded of *St. Simon*, what he could say of what he had lately heard, for

for he was present; and this favourite answered, that he seemed he was in the other World, but at last the King was Master, *Yes I am*, replied the King, *and will make the World to know it*. In effect, he dealt with her more like a Master than a Son; and he was told, that the obligations which he had for the Cardinal were infinitely more considerable, than the natural Duty of Children, towards those who had brought them into the World.

*St. Simon* let the Cardinal know that his Affairs went very well, and went with the King to the Ambassador's Place, where this Prince shut himself up with him, with forbiddance of Entry to any Person whatsoever. Having unbuttoned his Gesticore, he threw himself upon the Bed, and said to *Simon* that he felt himself inflamed all over, that the Queen by her senseless obstinacy, and by the injurious manner with which she had treated *Combalet* and the Cardinal in his presence, and contrary to the Parole she had given him, had so far discomposed him that he could find no rest, nor comfort for his grief: That she would have him turn off a Minister, who was to him of the greatest usefulness, and of an extraordinary capacity, to put others in his place, who were unworthy and incapable to serve the Crown: That when she had received Evil Impressions, she was no more capable to hear reason. In the sequel, he demanded of *St. Simon*, what he thought he ought to do on this occasion, and *St. Simon* answered, That it behoved his Majesty for his proper Interest to protect the Cardinal against the Cabal of those who envied the post which he held, and that he should banish from the Queen-Mother those People who filled her head with Ill Impressions, and which opposed the good designs of the premier Minister; At last the King resolved to go suddenly to *Versailles*, and to cause the Cardinal to come thither to take with him such measures, as he should observe in this affair.

In the mean time, this Prelate was returned home, for to put up presently all his Writings and his Principal Moveables to retire himself to *Brouage*, of which he was Governor, as we said before. The Cardinal de la

1630. *Valette*, who was come to Visit him, did all he could to oblige him to stay, and to give time for Repentance, and hinder'd him from a sudden departure. Whilst they were together, the Gentleman which *St. Simon* had sent to him, to tell him that things went well, desired to speak with him; and having told him the news he had orders to bring to his Eminence, he determined to stay; a while after he received a second advice like to the first. The Cardinal *de la Valette* being gone to the King, learned the same thing from *St. Simon*, and having spoke to the King, that Prince said to him, *Monsieur the Cardinal hath a good Master, go tell him I recommend me to him, and let him without delay come to Versailles.*

In the mean time, the Queen-Mother who believed that the King went to dismiss the Cardinal, out of complaisance to her, thought of nothing but the authority she was about to enjoy, and believed already to dispence all the benefits which the Cardinal had been Arbitrer of for some Years. All the world went to make their Court to her, and instead of following the King to *Versailles*, to hinder him from taking resolutions which might be disadvantageous to her; she amused her self with receiving of applauses for a thing which was no way done. The King was presently advertised of the great concourse of People, which frequented *Luxemburgh*, to wish happiness to the Queen, for that she had ruined the Cardinal, which encreased the suspicions which many had endeavoured to put into his mind, and which he a long time entertained, that the Queen-Mother sought only to Govern. In this conjuncture, *St. Simon* advertised the *Marschals de Cregui* and *de Bassompierre*, and the Duke *de Montmorency* not to fall into the snare, as the other Courtiers did, who believed the Cardinal lost: and afterwards they called that day *the day of Sots*, because the Enemies of the Cardinal were taken for Sots.

The King being arrived at *Versailles*, the Cardinal with all speed repaired thither, that he might throw himself at the feet of the King, and render him thanks, as the best, the most constant, and most obliging Master  
that

*that ever the Sun shined upon.* The King answered him, That he had in him a very good Servant, of a Capacity so great, and so extraordinary Fidelity, that he thought himself obliged to protect him, so much the more because it was a demonstration of the respect and acknowledgment he ought to have for the Queen his Mother, if he had behaved himself otherwise he had abandoned him; That he would protect him against all those who had made a Cabal to destroy him, in abusing the goodness of the Queen his Mother, that he required him to continue to serve him, and he would maintain him against all who had conspired his ruine. The Cardinal, who wept when he pleased, with his Eyes full of Tears, cast himself a-new at the King's Feet, and began to say, *That he could not accept of the honour of remaining near his Majesty, for fear of being the occasion of a scandalous division between the Son and the Mother, and that he would seek for some solitude where to hide himself and lament the rest of his days, the misfortune he had to be defamed as an ingrateful Person to his Benefactress.* After he had said this, he kissed the King's feet and arose. The King commanded him absolutely to continue in his Service, as formerly, for such was his Will; the Cardinal still declined it for the same reason; and the King told him, that it was not the Queen, but such and such, which he named, who had made all this disturbance, whom he should remember, and should take heed of them. He added again, That he would protect him against all; that he would be obeyed, and that the world should know the truth of these confusions.

After the King having caused all to depart who were present, except *St. Simon* and the Cardinal *de la Valette*, he caused *Bullion* and *Bouthillier* to be called, and resolved to give the Seals immediately to *Chasteauf.* Orders had been given to *Marillac*, who had them, to come to *Glatigny* near *Versailles*, and he believed it was a sign which the King gave of his confidence in him, until on the morrow he saw *la Ville aux Clercs* on the King's part demand the Seals, and himself led to Prison to *Chasteaudun.*



1630. *Jan.* Soon after, it was known at *Paris* what had been done at *Versailles*, and the Queen-Mother, who the day before saw her self surrounded with Courtiers found her self on the morrow alone at her Palace of *Luxembourg*.

The Cardinal was perfectly confirmed against all fear, which he had of losing the King's favour, and now thought of nothing but destroying those who had machinated his ruine. The two Brothers *de Morillas* were the chief, and the Keeper of the Seals was already in Prison; there remained only the Marechal who was in *Italy*: A Courier was dispatched to the Marechal *de Schumberg*, to Arrest him, and send him Prisoner into *France*, which was done the same day as the Courier arrived, † without making any Disorder in the Army.

\* 12. Nov.

† See Pen.

Mem. T.1.

p. 6. and

Puysegur.

p. 77.

\* Siri Mem.

Rec. T.7.

p. 293.

The greatest Enemies \* which the Cardinal had next to the Queen, were the Princess of *Conti* and the Dutchesse *d'Ornano* and *d'Elbeuf*. They were perfectly well united in the hatred which they had against him, and in the care they took to render him odious to the Queen-Mother. There was always one at least of them with that Princess; so that they lost no occasion to exasperate her against the Minister, and easily hinder'd him from a Reconciliation with his first Benefactress. The Dutchesse *d'Elbeuf* was provoked against him, because of the long Persecution, which he had caused to the House of *Vendosme*, and the other two because of the wrong he did to the House of *Guise*, from whom he took the charge of Admiral of the *Mediterranean*, which he had by virtue of his being Governor of *Provence*. The Cardinal pretended that it belonged of right to him, as Grand Master of the Navigation and Commerce of *France*; and the Duke offered to change it for any other thing, or to make a present to him of it: but he would not make a cession of it to him, because it belonged to him of right.

The Queen-Mother, after the noise she had made on *St. Martin's Day*, would not only have the Cardinal to meddle no more in her Private Affairs, but she refused to see him at Council. In the mean time, being pressed by Cardinal *Bagni*, she consented to see him in the first Council which was held, provided it were at the Queen Regent's,



Regent's. She also would have that the two Brothers *de Marillac* should be set at Liberty, and the King should promise her, not to allow Monsieur, without her consent to espouse the Princess of *Mantua*, and that neither her Servants, nor the Duke of *Orleans's* should be any way disturbed. Nevertheless, being \* pressed extraordinarily, she consented at last to see the Cardinal at her Palace, in presence of the King, of Cardinal *Bagni*, and of Father *Suffren*, but she received him with very great coldness.

23. of the  
same month

Three days after \* which was St. *Stephen's* Day, on \* 16 December. which the custom is to exhort Enemies to Reconciliation, the Queen-Mother sent for the Cardinal by Father *Suffren*. He went to see her; as soon as that Princess beheld him she fell a weeping, and he did the same; she ordered him to sit down, but he refused, saying, That Honour did not belong to a Person in Disgrace; the Queen, speaking about what had passed, said, that it was never her intention that he should be deprived of the Ministry; and the Cardinal, who then acted the humble, replied, that nevertheless she had said, that either she or he must leave the Court. But Father *Suffren* said, that it was only a movement of anger; and the Cardinal went on, saying, 'That he would Die rather than do any thing which might be to the prejudice of her Majesty, but he was much troubled, to be condemned, without being convicted; and if throughout the world that Regard was to be had, much more ought they to convince a person who without Vanity might glorify himself, to have successfully served the State on the most Important occasions: That he was ready to justify himself, and if it were found that he had been guilty of any disrespect for her, he desired no favour; but if his Innocence appeared, she might do him the honour of acknowledging it. That though he passionately desired to return into her favour, he durst be bold to tell her, that having served her fourteen years, he knew her humour too well, as to hope for it: Notwithstanding, he would never leave off to demonstrate the passion which he had to serve her.

1630.

The Queen said, that he had not favoured her at all, in the business of Monsieur, and the Cardinal protested, that he had defended her to the King as much as was possible. In fine, the Queen told him after many other things, that she would carry her towards him for the future, as she found he demeaned himself towards her. The Cardinal answered as with respect; That there was no proportion between Servants and Masters, and, as for his part, he would never be wanting in his duty to her, and would forget nothing which might contribute to her satisfaction.

After this, the Queen-Mother was two or three times at the Council with the Cardinal, but knowing his revengeful humour as she knew the same in her self, she left off coming thither, and refus'd absolutely to see him, for fear of disgusting those who had declared for her against the Minister.

*Siri as before.*

Monsieur, \* who since his return seemed reconciled to him at the request of the Queen-Mother, who dissembled still, would no more see him. But he visited him by the King's Order, and by consent of the Queen-Mother, who hoped by dissembling still, he might better assist her to destroy that Minister. In the mean time, *Puy-laurens* and *Coigneux* believed they might find an opportunity to do their business by offering their Services to the Court. The Cardinal *de la Valette* obtained from the King a charge of President of the Parliament for *le Coigneux*, that he recommended him to the Cardinal, and made him labour for him at the Court of *Rome*. A present of 50000 Crowns was made to *Puy-laurens*, and he was promised the title of a Duke in case he would marry a Dutchess, or purchase an Estate which had the title of a Dutchy. The Marquis of *Rambouillet* who was concerned in this affair with the Cardinal *de la Valette* had 100000 Livres. On the other side, the Duke of *Orleans* by their persuasion, promised to depend entirely on the King, and to let him see by his actions, that he would no way give ear to Counsels contrary to his Service. He further passed his word to protect the Cardinal on all occasions, even with the Queen-Mother. *Le Coigneux* and *Puy-laurens*, promised also to behave themselves towards the Duke of *Orleans*, so as the King should see the

the effects of the Promises which his Brother had made to him, and should forget nothing that might induce the Queen to be reconciled with the Cardinal.

The Duke's Servants seemed for some Weeks perfectly satisfied with the Court; although the Queen-Mother was extreemly vexed to see her self deserted by her Son, in a time when she had most need of them. But they imagining that there would more be granted them if they desired it, and if Monsieur, who did nothing but what they prompted him to, would show still some little discontent. Wherefore they obliged him to re-enter into the Party of the Queen-Mother: *Puylaurens* made new demands, and *Le Coigneux* would have a Cardinal's Cap, without staying till the Pope advanced more to that dignity. The King had no design to satisfy him, because he was a Person of an ill Life; but *Coigneux* demanded it the more importunately, because *Puylaurens* was bargaining with the Duke of *Montmorency*, to purchase the Lands of *Danville* which had the title of a Dutchy. As this affair was ready to be concluded *le Coigneux* fell into an extraordinary Melancholly, and that he might not fall into despair, the Ministers declared as much as they could, the conclusion of the Sale of the Land of *Danville*. *Puylaurens* coming to the knowledge of it, believed they designed to mock him, so he combined with *le Coigneux* a new, and with him formed a design to carry the Duke of *Orleans* from the Court; thinking that way both the more easily to obtain their demands: This Prince agreed with the Queen-Mother; that she in the mean time should stay at Court, to support his party, and that he would go and Cabal in some Province; she bestowed on him Jewels of great price, which she had from her Husband, and which she had in her keeping.

With this Resolution, he went \* to see the Cardinal \* 30 January. in his Palace at *Paris*, and told him, that he was persuaded his Eminence would serve him on his occasions; but having seen that he did not keep his promise, he came to retract that which he had given of protecting him. The Cardinal asked in what he had not been as good as his word? The Duke replied, That he had done nothing

1630.

1631.



1631. thing in favour of the Duke of *Lorain*, and that they designed, that he should absolutely forsake the interests of the Queen-Mother. He added, that he would retire to his own home; and that if they pressed upon him, he would defend himself. Mounting his Coach he went directly for *Orleans*, whilst the Cardinal went to give the King an account of what had passed.

The retreat of the Duke seemed strange to every body, because he had been no way ill treated at the Court, and the King seemed against the Queen-Mother's will to have consented to his retreat, although she denied it. The Cardinal used to say, that he had three Masters, the King, the Queen-Mother, and the Duke of *Orleans*, and that he would serve them all, but every in his rank, it being no way just that the last should go before the first. He protested always that he was disposed to render all sorts of services to the Queen, and that, as People believed, the Misunderstanding in which she lived with him, was the cause of the Evil Conduct of Monsieur: The King undertook to reconcile them, and so far pressed the Queen-Mother that she seemed to be disposed to it. She made the Marechal of *Schomberg* be told it by her first Physician, but she showed she would not take into her Service those whom she had once turned away, to which the Cardinal easily consented.

In the mean time, he advised the King to go into *Compeigne*, and endeavour to draw his Mother thither, because *Paris* was not a place proper to reduce her by Authority, to what he desired of her. This Princess was very well beloved there, and the Cardinal extremely hated, so that it was not for him to contest with her in that City. The Queen, who knew nothing of the Cardinal's design to Arrest her, and who would not stay long without the sight of the King, \* followed him into *Compeigne*, the Court being there; the Marechal *Scomberg* told *Vautier*, that the King desired nothing so much as to live with his Mother as formerly, and therefore it was necessary that she should reconcile her self with the Cardinal, and assist at the Council, as she was accustomed before these disturbances. It was also desired, that she should give the King a promise in writing, by

\* 17th Feb.

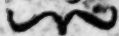
by which she should engage her self to enterprize nothing against the quiet of the State, and never to protect any of those whom the King should judge culpable of any thing contrary to his Service; excepting always the Domesticks of that Princess. She seemed to be ready to do all they required of her, only she would not come to the Council with the Cardinal, nor give the Writing which was demanded. The King sent the *Marschal Schomberg* and *Chateaufort* to make her the same offers which had been made to *Vautier*; but she would not come thither, say what they would.

Thereupon the King called a Cabinet Council, to consider what he should do in this conjuncture. The Cardinal, who knew nothing would be done there but what he desired, and who perhaps had suggested to the Counsellors, who all depended on him, feigned presently, with a Modesty which he affected when it was his turn, not to be able to tell his mind, because it was about an affair in which he was Personally concerned. But the King having commanded him absolutely to tell his sentiments; he said, "That the Emperor, the Kings of *Spain* and *England*, and the Duke of *Savoy*, not being friends to *France*, they had no other designs than to disturb their happiness either by Wars or secret Intrigues, by which it appeared that both the Queens were dissatisfied, as well as the Duke of *Orleans*, with whom they were united in their discontentments. That the Parliaments, the *Grandeess*, and the People, did earnestly endeavour to draw advantages from the dependencies of the Royal Authority. That the Cabals of the Court, of the Women, and of the English, in a few years past put all *France* into a Flame; but the present Faction was far more strong, because the quality of the Women was more considerable, and their number greater. That *Spain* was in a better condition to act, and *England* concerned it self, since there were certain proofs that she had sent Money to the Discontents. That the Duke of *Lorain* was of the Cabal, since he had done all that possibly he could, to hinder the concluding of the Treaty at *Ratisbonne*. That the House of *Guisse* and the Parliaments worked both on the same

\* *Siri Mem.*  
Rec. T. 7.  
P. 392.

Four

1631.



Foundation, and endeavoured to excite the People to new Commotions. That *Biscaros*, who had espoused a Niece of the *Mayillac's* and was Governor of *Verdun*, had refused to put it into the King's hands, hoping thereby to obtain the Deliverance of the *Marshall*. That all this had come to pass because the Queen-Mother was discontented, and made a Cabal at the Court.

The Cardinal added, That whilst Strangers could Embroil the Court, and may see the Duke of *Orleans* distanced from it, until he can find an opportunity to do his business, they would easily traverse all the designs of the Crown, and maintain the Cabals which they made in the Kingdom: So that Peace with Strangers was impossible, and that no concord could be found within, because the War fomented the Discords. That there was none but the King who could remedy this and chuse him who should be most proper to cure the Evil. That it was certain that the Queen-Mother minded nothing else but to destroy him, (him the Cardinal) and she would never be cured of that Passion: That as much as the Duke of *Orleans* beleived the Queen-Mother was in a state to bring things to pass, he would remain united to her. That whilst the affair within were in this disposition, it was impossible to bring those without to an end; nor to provide for the necessities of the State. That new Discontents were made every day, and those who were most Interested for the Service of the King, made excessive Pretensions. That by dissembling, the evil would at last become so great, that it would be incurable. That on the least sickness of the King, the Malecontents might make themselves Masters of the Person of the King and of the State, without the better and most Faithful Servants of the King finding any recompence, nor provision for their safety, because every where People adore the Rising Sun. That the same thing might happen on the first evil success, which the King's designs may have since they will not fail to impute it to those, who have used their utmost endeavours to divert them. That in such a Rencounter, the Servants of the King would remain at the mercy of the Women, whole choler

choſer is implacable. That *Caignent* was a man could keep no moderation, nor would believe himſelf ſecure, whileſt any who were of the Intereſt of the Chief Miniſter were alive.

The Artificious Miniſter, after he had frighted the King in this manner, continued, ſaying, ' That if on the contrary, endeavours were readily to be made to ſtudy theſe brouilleries of the Court, by Wars which ſhould appear moſt ſafe for his Majeſty, they muſt preſently hinder that the ill will of the Malecontents, may have no effect; and that in time they might be brought to reaſon. That weak Remedies do but irritate great Maladies, but violent ones do either cure them or take them quite away; and where touching will not do, the Iron and Fire is to be applied. In the preſent juncture, we muſt either accommodate ourſelves with the Foreigners, by an honourable and certain Peace, or be reconciled with the Queen-Mother, and with the Duke of *Orleans*; drive away the Cardinal, or take from the Queen thoſe who ſuggeſt thoughts to her, contrary to the good of the State, and to intreat her to abſtain a while coming to Court, leſt by her preſence ſhe ſhould entertain the Evil without thinking of it, ſince *Monſieur* being abſent at a time, when ſhe may be diſcontented at the Court; it would be almoſt impoſſible to bring theſe diſturbances to a happy end.

The Cardinal having propoſed theſe Expedients, as to give the King the choice of what he thought moſt convenient for the purpoſe; purſued in the determination of what he moſt deſired for the Reaſons following. ' That as to Peace with Foreigners, it was not to be hoped, during internal Diviſions, of which they would take advantage; and beſides this, it muſt be concluded and executed in an inſtant, and that could not be done without ſhamefully abandoning the Intereſts of the Allies of the State, which inſtead of being a Remedy muſt prove another Diſeaſe, not a ſolid Peace but the beginning of a new War. The accommodation with *Monſieur*, could no more be made, as to him, becauſe thoſe who were Maſters over his ſpirit were inſatiable,



and would never be content, unless they were absolute Masters. The Cardinal exaggerated their Evil conduct, and coming in the sequel to the Queen-Mother, he said, That it was no more possible to reconcile with her, Women being naturally Revengeful, and the Queen sufficiently dissembling, and came from a Country and House which rarely pardoned. That the Services which he (Cardinal) had done to the King, and the State, would not hinder her from coming to the greatest extremities with him: That the intreaties of the King had been ineffectual; that she was not to be kept to Promises, that she had made them several times, to live well with the Minister, that she had kept those no better than what she might make for the future. That she would never be content until she had entirely ruined those she hated, and that he feared lest the effects of her Vengeance should go further, than she her self desired.

In fine, there remained nothing more for the Cardinal, but to examine whether it would not be more advantageous to the King, that he should withdraw himself, that the King might live in peace with his Mother, his Spouse, and his Brother, who almost equally hated this Minister, or to remove the Queen-Mother, and those which fomented her discontents. He therefore said, That if his withdrawing might be a proper Remedy to cure the Maladies of the Court, he was to practice it without hesitation; and as for himself he desired it passionately. It was true, that in this there were many things to be considered, viz. If the spirits of the Malcontents would be satisfied with his retreat only, or if they would not destroy those who staid behind, and him who had retired, to render themselves Masters of the Royal Authority; if so, then this Remedy ought not to be made use of, lest whilst endeavouring to heal the sore complained of, a much worse should be produced.

He supposed that it was visible, that this Remedy would be worse than the Disease, and that it would be followed by all the mischiefs of which he had spoken. In effect, the humour in which the King was, which

was incapable of fearing for himself, by the return of Queen Mother, without any Minister daring to oppose her. *Richlieu* the would have Governed more absolutely than ever, and wholly given her self over to Vengeance, to prevent the designs of those, who would not be pleased with her new Authority. Therefore the Cardinal concluded to dissipate the Cabals, which the Authority and discontent of the Queen entertained in the Court, in praying her to withdraw her self and to retire at some distance from *Paris*, and to drive away from her Evil Counsellors. He said nevertheless, That this resolution was to be put in execution with a great deal of sweetness, and in treating that Princess with all possible respect. That exact measures were to be taken for to surmount all the obstacles, which Persons of great consideration might find in it, because to begin this affair, without coming to the end, would be to destroy all. That in truth, the Kingdom would find the Remedy violent, because few persons could know the great evils of the State, which would be cured by it. That whatsoever was done in this affair, would be attributed to the Premier Minister, but this Inconvenience was to be despised, as the Chirurgion who cutteth off an Arm, never regards the loss of blood which happeneth. That if he had no regard but for himself, he would never have resolved to propose this Expedient, because all the world would believe that he acted for Vengeance, whilst he did nothing but what was for the good of the State, and that they would make a thousand Satyrs against him. That if he considered his own Person, he had rather hazard perishing, without being defamed, than secure himself, by falling into the blame of all the Kingdom; but since the good of the State, and the conservation of the Authority and Person of the King required it to be so, he would surrender himself to what his Majesty and Council should find requisite.

He made this Speech full of Artifice, demanding permission of the King to quit the Ministry in case his Majesty should embrace the latter Part; Because the Cabal being dispersed, the other Ministers would be in a

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condition to serve him as before, without demanding any thing. He added moreover, that the spirit of the Queen-Mother, would be so much the sooner cured, when she saw her self out of Power to the last, and that those who imbitter'd it were removed, she would seriously think of an accommodation with the Court. That the Foreigners, promising nothing to themselves by Domestick Discords, would in good earnest think of Peace for their proper Interest; That in a little time all the affairs of the King would be seen in their ordinary course, and come to an happy end: But without this, there would be very great hazard of doing well; and suppose they should go ill; he should be troubled for not having discharged his Conscience, by discovering the true cause. That Justice, in fine, was manifestly on the King's side, and he would have also the approbation of the People, when his design came to pass, which could not be expected, if he did not at once tear up the roots of all the Factions.

All the Council applauded the Prime Minister, and assured the King, That no other Expedients but those were to be taken. There was but one thing in which they agreed not with the Cardinal, viz. his Retreat, which they looked upon, not as an innocent way, to appease the Spirits, but as a Remedy dangerous and unpracticable. As to the removal of the Queen-Mother, the Council would not tell their Sentiments, and reserved only to themselves the glory of Obeying his Majesty, when he should determine concerning it.

The King, without further Consultation, took the Party of removing the Queen-Mother, and he resolved to leave her at *Compeigne* under a good Guard: after he had offered her by Father *Suffren*, what she had already refused several times. She failed not to refuse it at present, being still as much opinionastre as she was, and on the 23. of *February* the Court departed Early in the Morning without her knowledge. The King left the *Mareschal d'Estrees* at *Compeigne*, with Eight Companies of his Guards, fifty Men at Arms, and five hundred Light-Horse, and gave him orders to keep Guards at the Gate of the Castle, and those of the Town, with such

such a number of Soldiers as he should think fit, to cause the Princess of Conti to depart for *Eu* in Normandy, without permitting her to see the Queen, or to pass through *Paris*; and if the Queen should design to follow the Court and to go any where else, to tell her, that he had express orders from the King, to pray her to stay to know what he should find convenient.

As soon as she knew that the Court was gone \* without her, and that she was environed with Guards, she fell into an extraordinary rage against the Cardinal; but as there was no remedy she was fain to be patient; she wrote many times to the King to justify her self, and to lament her Condition, but the King being besieged by the Cardinal and his Creatures, would not touch them. They would oblige the Queen to go out of *Compiègne*, which was judged to be too near to *Paris*; and to send her to *Montins* in *Bourbonnais*, or to *Angiers*, they offered her the Government of one of those two Provinces. She absolutely refused it, and made many difficulties arise, which were in vain endeavoured to be taken off, because the more they desired she should change her abode, the more she obstinately resolved to stay at *Compiègne*. In the mean time, they treated her openly with respect enough, and she was allowed to walk out where she pleased. They also sent the Soldiers out of the Town that she might see none of them, and that she might not seem to be a Prisoner; but they had seized on all the Avenues, to prevent the withdrawing of her self.

In the interim, orders were given to the Dukes of *Orleans* and *Elbeuf* to retire from the Court; and the *Marschal de Bassompierre*, without being accused of any thing else but too much complaisance to the Princess of *Conte*, was sent to the Bastille, where he remained till after the Death of the Cardinal, who never pardoned those who had offended him. *Vautier*, Physician to the Queen-Mother, who had been one of the Principal Enemies of this Minister, was also sent to the Bastille, though the Queen demanded him; but he was promised to her on condition she would go to *Montins*.

\* *Siri Mem.*  
Rec. T. 7.  
P. 309 &c.



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The Duke of Orleans, who had begun to make some preparatives to take Arms, and keep by force the City of Orleans, retired in the Month of March to go to Burgundy, when he saw the King approach to seize him before he was ready. From thence he retreated to Buxancon in the Franche County, and the King who followed him, caused at Dijon the Count of Mont, the Dukes of Elbeuf, of Rouanne, and of Bellegard, le Coigneux, Phylautens, and all others with him, to be proclaimed Traytors. Whereupon Monsieur sent a Petition to the Parliament of Paris, in which he said he was gone out of the Kingdom by reason of the violent Persecution of the Cardinal Richelieu, who had made an enterprize on his Person, and that of the Queen-Mother; to attempt in sequel that of the King, and make himself Master of the Kingdom. He opposed the King's Declaration, and required an Act of his Opposition, as well as what he gave in form against the Cardinal. But the King by an Arrest of Council, ordered this Petition to be suppressed as scandalous,

\* 12 May.

The Queen-Mother also presented a request to the same Parliament, in which she set forth, that without doing any thing against the King or the State she was detained at Compeigne under a strict Guard. That she had always endeavoured to keep Peace between the Princes and the Grandees of the Kingdom, as well as with the antient Allies of the Crown, and to preserve the Treasury: That John Armand, Cardinal of Richelieu had to the contrary, engaged the King in perpetual Wars, and had caused him to go in Person into Infected places, in the greatest heats of Summer. That he created distrusts in his Majesty against his nearest Relations, and against his most faithful Servants. She accused him moreover of other things, and required that to save her Reputation, and make her Innocence to be known to all the Realms, that they would grant an Act, by which it might appear that she would be Denuntiatrix and party against the Cardinal and all his Adherents.

A little time after, having advice that the Marshalls Schomberg and d'Estree, and the Marquis of Breze were to come to Compeigne with 1200 Horse to take her away by

by force; she sought for means to make a secret flight; 1631.  
 she departed in the Night \* unknown, and would have  
 retired to *La Cappel*, a Frontier place of *Picardy*, where  
 the Son of the Marquis *de Vardes*, who was Governor,  
 had promised to receive her. But the Cardinal coming  
 to know it, sent immediately the old Marquis thither,  
 who put his Son out of the Place, and hinder'd the  
 Queen's Reception there. There was a great appear-  
 ance, that the Cardinal intended they should suffer this  
 Princess to escape, because he knew so soon of her go-  
 ing to *La Cappel*, to hinder her entrance there, other-  
 wise he would have given orders to stop her. But it  
 was more to his advantage that she should go out of the  
 Kingdom, than if she had staid there; and the manifest  
 compliance which he showed by putting the Guards at  
 a distance, was perhaps, only to give the Queen-Mother  
 opportunity to commit this fault which destroyed her.  
 Be it as it will, being advertised that she could have no  
 admission into *La Cappel*, and not knowing where she  
 could be safe in the Kingdom, against the Inexorable  
 humour of the Cardinal, she retired into *Flanders*. \* 21 July.  
 From whence she wrote to the King, that she believed  
 he had not disobliged him by retiring and delivering  
 her self from the Persecutions of the Cardinal, and that  
 she was gone against her will into *Flanders*, because she  
 was refused entrance into *La Cappel*. She was received  
 at *Brussels* by the *Infanta* with all manner of Honours,  
 and nothing was forgot which might alleviate part of her  
 Griefs. But she shortly after received an answer from  
 the King, in such terms as afflicted her very much, and  
 which showed the extraordinary Ascendant which the  
 Cardinal had over his Spirit. I am obliged by many proofs  
 to the Affection and sincerity of my Cousin the Cardinal of  
*Richelieu*. The Religious Obedience which he pays me, and  
 the faithful Care he hath in all things relating to my Person,  
 and the good of my State, speak for him. You shall allow me,  
 if you please, to tell you, Madam, that the action which  
 you have done late<sup>y</sup>, and what before passed, caused me not  
 to be ignorant what your Intentions formerly were, and what  
 I must expect for the future: The respect which I bear you  
 hinders me from saying any more; If this Letter were  
 dictated.

3691. dictated by the Cardinal it could not be more strong and more mortifying to a Princess, who at the bottom had aspired to the Authority, which the King endured well enough in the person of the Cardinal, and which he could well enough have suffered in his Mother.

But her retreat into the Spanish Country gave means to the Cardinal to make the King believe, that she had before kept correspondence with the Enemies of the State, and this Princess could never repair that fault. Thus this Crafty Minister found ways to remove from the Government, the King's Mother and Brother; nay, even to render the Queen his Spouse, suspected, and to keep the Princes of the Blood at a distance. As it was impossible that the Cardinal should design to take the Crown from the King's Head and put it on his own, and that the Duke of Orleans and the other Princes of the Blood, might be suspected of such an attempt: The King dissident and credulous, became distrustful of all by the Artifices of this Minister; and after he had treated them ill, to believe they wished him not well; and so to regard them as secret Enemies, who wanted only a favourable opportunity to appear so. In these thoughts he could have no confidence but in his Cousin Monsieur the Cardinal, who held him thereby in perpetual dependence, and caused him to commit all the injustices which he would. From that time no Person came near the King but by consent of his Minister, and to tell the King what the Cardinal thought fit he should know.

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*An End of the First Tome*

